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THE

THREE ERAS OF OTTOMAN HISTORY;

A POLITICAL ESSAY

ON THE

LATE REFORMS OF TURKEY,

CONSIDERED PRINCIPALLY AS AFFECTING HER POSITION IN THE EVENT OF A WAR TAKING PLACE.

BY JAMES HENRY SKENE, ESQ.

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INTRODUCTION.

At a time when the military resources of several European states have so recently been tested by sudden and extensive movements of troops, whether revolutionary, defensive, or auxiliary, and when the estimation of their respective aggrandisement or decay, during an almost uninterrupted peace of the third of a century, has of late been verified or refuted in the minds of political observers, it may not appear inopportune to offer to them some elucidation of the actual strength and means of defence possessed by a nation which of all others has undergone the most notable changes in the lapse of the last thirty years, and which, among the great powers, is not the least likely to engross the attention of Europe by a war for the protection of its territory, or in the vindication of its independence. The footing on which the Ottoman Empire could thus enter the lists as a belligerent party, to repel foreign aggression, involves considerations of universal importance and paramount interest to the cabinets and countries which might be affected by the destinies of Turkey. To some the forces of the Sultan furnish matter for careful computation, as being capable of vigorously opposing their schemes or not; to others, as re-

quiring or not their active assistance. That both these problems can be solved—the first in the affirmative, and the second negatively—will be seen by a cursory review of the past vicissitudes of the Turkish troops, and by a brief statement of their present condition; and a comparison between the ancient and modern armies will in some measure enable those who examine the subject to form their judgment with regard to the capabilities of the latter by the exploits of the former, while a retrospective glance over the campaigns of the Moslem conquerors will at the same time serve to illustrate the unparalleled facility of suddenly raising vast levies of troops in the hour of need, which has always been enjoyed by Turkey, and which has now been further enhanced by the measures adopted for the purpose of obtaining, on such occasions, immediate reinforcements of disciplined soldiers instead of raw recruits.

The career of the Ottoman army comprises three distinct eras: the first of them may be divided into two periods, that of the efficiency of the Janissaries, and that of their insubordination; the second era was occasioned by their destruction; and the third, which still continues, commenced when they had been replaced by the Nizam, or regular army of the present day. The ancient organisation, by Sultan Orkhan, progressed in efficiency until the death of Sultan Suleyman the Great, when it became corrupt, and gradually declined. Sultan Mahmoud II., following out the project of his uncle, Sultan Selim III., destroyed it, and an era of transition ensued. Sultan Abdul Medjid, now reigning over the Empire bequeathed to him in so lamentable a state, formed a new army, which has inaugurated an era of regeneration. The

annals of the first of these three eras are, in fact, the history of the Turkish conquests and the decline of the Empire; and those of the second, trace the origin of its rapid revival, and indicate the sources whence the rising prosperity of the third is derived. The existence of the Empire was a consequence of the first era—the existence of its reorganisation is a result of the second. Through the Janissaries Turkey rose—by them she was about to fall; and without the Nizam, or regular army of Sultan Abdul Medjid, which exists as a consequence of the destruction of the Janissaries, she could never have had a chance of rising again, or even of saving her political independence. The full comprehension of the actual condition of the Ottoman Empire requires, therefore, that the efficiency and corruption, the vigour and decrepitude of those singular troops, who first created the Empire and then well-nigh subverted it, should be thoroughly understood.

THE

THREE ERAS OF OTTOMAN HISTORY.

FIRST ERA.

FORMATION OF THE ARMY.

When Turkey assumed a place amongst the great powers of Europe, the land forces of the Sultan consisted in six corps of infantry and six of cavalry. The first of these was formed of the Janissaries. They had been organised by Sultan Orkhan in the fourteenth century, under the title of *Yenitsheri*, or New Troops, in contradistinction to the previous armies, which had been raised by levies of irregular soldiers, according as they had been required. The Janissaries were, in fact, a disciplined body of men; and, as such, they were the most ancient existing in modern times. For some years after their incorporation they numbered only 12,000 men, but before the end of Sultan Suleyman's reign, in 1566, they had progressively attained the strength of 40,000; and they constituted the principal force of the Empire. They were divided into 101 *Ortá*, or regiments; each of which was composed of a great company (*Beuluk*), and a small company (*Djamahat*). The general staff of the corps consisted of an *Aga*, or captain-general; a *Kiahia*, or lieutenant-general; a *Tshaüsh Aga*, also called *Muhuzur Aga*, whose functions were those of the prevôt-

marshal; a *Kiahiadjeri*, or deputy-lieutenant-general; and an *Effendi*, or general-superintendent, acting as paymaster. The two companies of each *Ortá* were respectively commanded by a *Tshorbadji*, literally soupmaker; his lieutenant bore the title of *Odabashi*, or quarter-master; his other subalterns were the *Vekil Hardsh*, or lieutenant-accountant, and the *Bairactar*, or standard-bearer; and, besides these, there were in every company an *Ashtshi-ustá*, or non-commissioned officer; a *Bash-karakulukdji*, or sergeant-major; and a prevôt, who was styled the water-carrier (Sacá). The Janissaries were, therefore, regularly organised troops; and they were exercised in their own peculiar mode of evolution. The second corps of the original army was called the *Djebedji*, or armourers; it never exceeded in numerical strength from 10,000 to 12,000 men. The third corps, the *Topdji*, or artillery; and the fourth, which bore the name of *Toparabadji*, or the waggon-train, were also weak in numbers. The fifth corps, that of the *Yiayia*, or *Seimen* (infantry of the line); and the sixth corps, the *Azep*, or light infantry, amounted to 40,000 men, but they were never regarded as disciplined and regular troops. The first corps of cavalry, the regular *Sipahi*, called by the French in Algeria *Spahis*, and by us in India *Sepoys*, was 15,000 strong. The second corps, the *Selihdar*, literally men-at-arms, but, in fact, heavy dragoons, wearing coats of mail, and covered with armour like the knights of the middle ages. The third corps, the Red *Muselleman* (freemen), and the fourth corps, the Blue *Muselleman*, forming the left wing of the army, were each composed of upwards of 2000 horsemen; and the fifth and sixth corps, called the *Gureba*, or mercenaries, from their being enrolled with a fixed pay, as they did not owe service, occupying the right flank, were of the same strength. All these troops wore their respective uniforms.

Besides those twelve corps, there was a corps of light cavalry,

bearing the name of the *Akindji*, or Invaders, which was from 18,000 to 20,000 strong; the command of it was hereditary in the ancient house of Michaloglu, descended from Michael the Bearded, a Greek, who was the Governor of Asia Minor when the Lower Empire was overthrown, and, having then been taken prisoner by Sultan Osman I., in person, became one of his most faithful captains, and the founder of a family remarkable amongst the Greeks serving their conquerors for its loyal devotedness to their new sovereigns. The corps of Provincial *Sipahi* formed a select division under the immediate orders of its feudal chiefs, each of them commanding from 500 to 700 mounted vassals; their whole strength amounted, in the most flourishing era of the Empire, to 125,000 men. These two corps were dressed and equipped in the Oriental fashion, with but little uniformity; and their regularity and discipline were in a great measure similar to those of the occasional levies of the chivalrous ages before the system of maintaining standing armies was introduced among European nations.

PERIOD OF CONQUEST.

Such were the forces which led the descendants of Suleyman Shah from Khorasan to Vienna. Little did that ancestor of the great Osman imagine, when he wandered to Armenia with only 400 families, or tents, after the advance of the warlike Mogul Gengis Khan from the far East, that the army of his posterity would ere long make the whole of Europe tremble, and would found a new empire destined to rank among the first of European powers. That army, under the guidance of Osman I., fought its way through Asia Minor, subjugating kingdoms and principalities, until it reached the town of Broussa, near which the father of the present dynasty of Turkey died. His son Orkhan succeeded to a state extending

from the foot of the Asiatic Olympus to the gates of Nicea and Nicomedia; and, by the conquest of the territory belonging to these towns, together with other provinces, he subsequently annexed to his dominions the whole of Mysia, the eastern shore of the Bosphorus, and the southern coast of the Black Sea.

The Turkish army next figured in history as the allies of the Greek Emperor Cantacuzenus, who had solicited their assistance in his struggles with his son-in-law, the Palæogi, his High Admiral Apokaukus, the Servians, and the Latins. Ten thousand soldiers were sent by Orkhan under the command of his son Suleyman; they defeated the enemies of the feeble Emperor, and obtained permanent possession of the town of Gallipolis, the key of the Hellespont, which they stormed during a panic occasioned by an earthquake. This was the first appearance of the Turkish army in Europe, and, although so weak in number, they succeeded in making good their footing in the Empire, destined soon to be completely conquered by them.

They soon subjugated Galatia in Asia Minor, which they incorporated with the territory subject to Sultan Murad I., the youngest son of Orkhan. The towns of Adrianople and Philippopolis in Thrace also fell before them; and they reduced the whole country stretching from Beraea to Mount Hæmus (the Balkan). The Sultan then made peace with the Greeks, and established his European residence in that of the Emperor Cantacuzenus, Dydymotikon, now called Dimotica.

The Serbians, Bosnians, Hungarians, and Wallachians, with a presentiment of their approaching subjugation by the Turks, determined to make war against them. The Janissaries, and other corps of Sultan Murad's army, met these combined forces on the banks of the river Maritza, the ancient Hebrus in Thrace, and so complete was the discomfiture of the latter, that King Louis of Hungary afterwards built a town in Steyermark

to commemorate his having escaped from that battle with his life, and he called the town Mariazell. The Sultan made Adrianople his European capital. The Turkish army marched into Bulgaria, where they took the city of Nissa; thence they proceeded to Thessaly, and, after taking possession of several towns, their campaign was closed by a peace.

Timurtash Pasha, the celebrated general of Sultan Murad, next led the army against the other provinces of the Lower Empire, whose possessions were soon reduced to the single town of Constantinople.

The Turkish forces were then called into Asia Minor by the hostility of Aladdin, Prince of Karamania. The latter was defeated by them at Konia, the ancient Pionium; and this was the most brilliant action in which the army had as yet been engaged; the Asiatic corps fighting on the right flank, the troops raised in the newly-acquired territory of Europe forming the left wing, and the centre being occupied by the warlike Sultan, surrounded by the Janissaries, who had now established their fame as the most formidable body of soldiers in the world, and supported by squadrons of *Sipahis* and *Selihdars*. Murad was satisfied with this signal victory, and did not follow it up in Asia, but returned with the greatest expedition to Europe, at the head of 30,000 men, to avenge the massacre of 15,000 Turks by the Bosnians, which had taken place during his absence, through the enmity of the Kral, or King of Bulgaria.

New levies were raised with surprising rapidity, and the army took the field, with the Janissaries forming the advanced guard, which was their accustomed post. One corps, under Ali Pasha, crossed the Balkan by the pass of Tshali Kavak, and took Shumna; another reduced Pravadi; Tirnova was also taken; Nicopolis was besieged; and the kral, or king, surrendered at discretion.

A combination against the Turks was then instigated by the King of Serbia; and the Bosnians, Albanians, Wallachians, Hungarians, and Poles, united to oppose their progress. The Janissaries marched under Sultan Murad, nothing daunted; they attacked the allied forces at Kussova, and totally defeated them in that celebrated battle. The Serbian chiefs being unable to conquer the Sultan, assassinated him; for he was mortally wounded by Milosh Kobilovitsh after the battle, but he lived to see the death of the king on the same day, and the victory so complete as to seal the conquest of another province, which was thus annexed to the growing Empire.

His son Bajazet laid siege to Constantinople in the following year, but he was soon drawn thence to resist the formidable advance of 60,000 men of different European nations, who were led against him by Sigismund, King of Hungary. There were 1000 French knights, with as many squires, and 6000 mercenaries under the Counts of Nevers, La Marche, Bar, Artois, and Eu; the German chivalry was arrayed under Frederick Count of Hohenzollern, Grand Prior of the Empire, the Elector of the Palatinate, the Count of Mömpelgard, the Castellan of Nuruberg, and Herman II. Count of Cilli; the knights of St. John of Jerusalem had arrived with their Grand Master from Rhodes, whence they had not yet migrated to Malta; and the Wallachian levies were commanded by their Hospodar, Myrtsh, in person. This powerful force appeared before Philippopolis, which was besieged for six days. Sultan Bajazet arrived with his Janissaries; a battle was fought; King Sigismund escaped to the Danube, where he embarked with the remains of his army in the galleys of the Knights of St. John; and most of the other distinguished warriors of the different contingents were either killed or made prisoners. The Turkish troops, under their Sultan, overran Wallachia and Hungary, while the renowned General Timurtash was

pushing, at the same time, the frontiers of the Empire in Asia to the banks of the Euphrates.

In the course of a century several great battles had thus been fought by the Janissaries; and in no one of them had their ranks been broken by the shock of the choicest chivalry of Europe, and of the most warlike armies of Asia. They generally received the attack of their enemies drawn up in three sides of a square, with the cavalry in the rear, to fall upon them after their charge, which was repulsed by their lances used as bayonets; and their constant success had now added confidence to discipline, which are the two elements of continued victory.

Bajazet sustained a war with Timur at the head of 700,000 Moguls, and the latter was victorious at the battle of Angora, in which the great Sultan was himself taken prisoner, the Janissaries having been overpowered by numbers. But the death of that celebrated Eastern conqueror, when on the point of invading China after his return to Samarcand, delivered the Ottoman Empire from its most formidable foe.

Mohammed I. was for some time engaged in war with different princes of Asia Minor, who were finally defeated by the Turkish army at Smyrna. He afterwards commenced a sanguinary struggle in Europe, which was occasioned by an appeal made to the Sultan by Wallachia against the Hungarians, and in which the Janissaries equally distinguished themselves.

Under Sultan Murad II. the Janissaries besieged Constantinople and attempted to take it by storm, but the pretensions of Mustapha to the Ottoman throne soon drew them off, and the capital of the Byzantine empire was again saved by a peace which was concluded between the Sultan and the Emperor Johannes Palæologus.

The town of Thessalonica, which had fallen into the hands

of the Genoese by means of a sale on the part of the Greeks, was next attacked by the Turkish army, and it was reduced by a vigorous assault.

The invasion of the Hungarians under their celebrated hero, Johann von Hunyad, then took place. They prevailed, but they did not maintain the advantage they had gained, and they retreated from Bulgaria, which had been the seat of war, to Hungary. Murad, who was also threatened in Asia Minor, offered terms of peace which were accepted. The treaty was not ratified by the Pope, and the King of Hungary, though bound by oath to observe it for ten years, again attacked the Turks after ten weeks. His good fortune abandoned him with his good faith, and the Janissaries routed his army before Varna. He lost his life in the action, and his head was placed on a pole, to which the violated treaty was also attached; and the Cardinal Julian, who had induced him to perjure himself, was also killed in the battle.

Sultan Murad undertook the subjugation of Greece Proper. The Janissaries stormed Corinth, and conquered the whole of the Peloponnesus. Hunyad took advantage of this opportunity to cross the Danube at the head of 24,000 Hungarians and Wallachians. The Sultan hurried with his gallant army to meet them at Kussova; after fighting three days, Hunyad was so completely discouraged that he left his army clandestinely, and crossed the Danube with a few officers; and his troops, abandoned by their leader, were totally destroyed by the Janissaries.

Mohammed II. turned his attention to the final overthrow of the Greek Emperors, and led his veteran conquerors to the assault of Constantinople. This time the city fell; with it the Lower Empire, never again to rise; and Constantinople became the capital of Turkey.

As soon as this important point was gained, the Sultan be-

thought himself of the necessity of checking the disaffection which was becoming apparent in some of his European provinces. With the Janissaries and new levies, promptly collected, he marched towards Belgrade, taking with him also 300 pieces of artillery. These troops, meeting with resistance in Serbia, laid siege to the capital of the province; they were repulsed at first by the garrison, together with the army of Hunyad, which had hurried to the spot; and they were forced to raise the siege with considerable loss. On the death, however, of George, the last of the Serbian princes, the whole country became definitively subject to the Sultan. Shortly afterwards the Wallachians, also, made their final submission. Mohammed, now surnamed the Conqueror, proceeded with his army to Bosnia, which he soon annexed as a province of his empire. Northern Albania had resisted for three-and-twenty years under the well-known Scanderbeg. Sultan Murad II. had first attacked him at the head of his Janissaries and Sipahis, and had overrun the country until he reached the town of Croja, which successfully resisted. The greatest enthusiasm had been raised in Europe in favour of the hero of Epirus; the Pope had proclaimed a crusade ; and Venice had made an offensive and defensive alliance with him. Sultan Mohammed II. sent Sheremet Pasha with 14,000 horsemen against him, but they were routed at Ochri. He next advanced himself with a force of 100,000 men, and succeeded in completely subjugating Albania and Herzegovina. After this brilliant campaign, the Turkish army returned to Constantinople.

It soon took the field again to attack Hungary, Croatia, and Moldavia, simultaneously. On no occasion was the facility of raising troops more remarkable than on this, for the martial spirit with which the Turks are naturally endowed was further excited by the enthusiasm of success; and although a numerous force was requisite for these extensive enterprises, no difficulty

would have been found in collecting an army of even greater strength, as volunteers flocked to the different camps. Moldavia capitulated immediately, the Crimea was also taken possession of, and, after a sanguinary war, Hungary obtained a treaty of peace on the condition of paying a tribute to the Sultan. An attempt on Poland was less fortunate, and it failed on account of the unusual inclemency of the winter, which was said to have caused the death of 40,000 men of the Turkish army.

The war with Persia, which Suleyman the Great had commenced by marching his troops victoriously through the territory of Erzerum and Van, and returning to Constantinople, after taking thirty-one cities from the enemy, was now renewed. The Janissaries fought the battle of Tshaldiran, in Georgia, and overthrew the independence of that country. They were then led against the Persians by Osman Pasha, and they were successful at Derbend, in Daghistan, which engagement put an end to the campaign. In the next, the Turks attacked the Persians forty-eight times, with varying fortune; and, finally, Ferhad Pasha directed their victories at Tabriz and Tiflis, and marched them to Bagdad, where they conquered fifteen Persian shahs, and reduced the whole territory of Karabagh. The Shah Abbas, meanwhile, was unfavourably struggling in Khorasan against the corps of Uz Bey, and he was at last obliged to make peace with Turkey on disadvantageous terms. He accordingly availed himself of the first opportunity to break that peace, and the Turkish army marched against the Persians. The Grand Vezir Murad Pasha led them to victory, and peace was again concluded, Turkey remaining mistress of all the provinces lying to the westward of a line drawn from the southern shore of the Caspian Sea to the coast of the Persian Gulf.

The ancient kingdom of Egypt, as it existed under the

Mamelukes, extended over the whole of Syria, as far as Cilicia, in Asia Minor. These kings aspired at the conquest of that province. The sultans opposed them, and a war ensued at last. The Turkish troops attacked the Egyptians with little success until they had taken Diarbekir, when the Asiatic territory of the Egyptian kingdom became exposed on the flank. The Mameluke Sultan, Kansu Ghavri, then withdrew towards Aleppo, and he was defeated by the Janissaries at Merdsh Dabik. Thence the Ottoman army, led by the Sultan, advanced victoriously to Damascus, conquering Hama and Homs on their way; and finally they subjugated the whole of Syria. In the following year they crossed the desert and entered Egypt. They were met by the army of Tuman Bey, the last of the Mameluke kings. A battle was fought near Cairo, and the Janissaries, with the Sipahis and Selihdars, carried everything before them. Forty thousand Mamelukes were left dead on the field, Tuman Bey was beheaded, and Egypt became a Turkish province.

The acquisition of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers soon followed, when the war between the Emperor Charles V. and Barbarossa had placed these states at the Sultan's feet; and the Turkish empire thus extended along nearly the whole northern coast of Africa.

The annexation of Arabia was a consequence of the disastrous struggle sustained by Beni Tahir, Aamir of Yemen; and the Ottoman sultans inherited from the caliphs the title of Defender of the Faithful, when the sacred cities of Medina and Mecca had fallen into their hands.

The next war in which the Janissaries were engaged was that declared by Sultan Suleyman against Hungary, in consequence of a breach of the laws of nations on the part of the king towards the ambassadors sent by Turkey to receive the stipulated tribute. The first campaign was not brilliant, for

the warlike Bishop Paul Toromacus defeated the Turkish army in Syrmia, and the Count Frangipani saved Croatia and Dalmatia by his victory at Jairsa. New levies were promptly raised by the Sultan, and his army resumed the contest 100,000 strong. They took the Hungarian town of Peterwardein, gained the celebrated battle of Mohais, in which the King of Hungary was killed, and marched to Ofen, the capital of the country.

Three years later the Turkish troops besieged Vienna, which was relieved by the Count of Salm. A general call to arms was made, and they returned to the attack. The army now amounted to 200,000 men, but still their success was indifferent; and it was not until the great Hungarian campaign commenced that fortune favoured them. This was one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of the Janissaries. Leaving the capital of Hungary in the hands of a Pasha of three tails, the Sultan advanced with his army, surmounting every obstacle, and defeating every foe. After thus overrunning almost the whole of Hungary, he pushed his troops as far as Gran. The house of Hapsburgh, panic-stricken, offered a tribute; but the Turks did not check their onward career. Szigeth was stormed by them, and thus the kingdom of Hungary was completely subjugated. But Sultan Suleyman died, and his son, Selim II., made a treaty of peace with Austria, by which the latter obtained the assurance of peace, in consideration of the annual payment of 30,000 ducats.

In the same reign the Republic of Venice also became tributary to the Sultan, notwithstanding that Don Juan of Austria, who commanded their fleet, had gained the victory of Lepanto. In that celebrated naval action the Janissaries, who had insisted on taking their place in the front rank, wherever the Turkish arms were engaged, displayed the first indications of their incipient insubordination, for the soldiers,

unaccustomed to fight on board ship, forced their officers to take them away from the battle.

The Emperor, Rudolph II., had in the mean time resumed the old quarrel with Turkey, on the pretext of a violation of their treaty of peace on the part of Hassan, Pasha of Bosnia. A corps of the Turkish army was routed by the Prince of Mannsfeld, at Gran; but in the following year they took the town of Erlau, and annihilated the Austrian forces at Keresztes. The two subsequent campaigns were disastrous: Raab and Wissegrad were lost, Hafiz Pasha was defeated, and the Khan of the Crimea withdrew from the army with his contingent. The Janissaries soon redeemed, however, the lost fame of the Ottoman arms, by the capture of Kanisha, by the repulse of the Archduke Ferdinand's attack on it, and of that of the Archduke Mathias on Ofen, as well as by the reduction of Stuhlweissenburgh; and the Emperor sued for peace. It was granted; and the relative positions of the two states was shortly afterwards modified by the purchase of exemption from the payment of tribute on the part of Austria, at the sacrifice of 300,000 ducats.

Sultan Mohammed IV., with his celebrated Grand Vezir Keuprili, undertook a war on account of the disputed succession to the throne of the Transylvanian Principality. The first campaign commenced with the brilliant victory of Neuhaüsel, where Count Fogaes was defeated by the Turkish army. When the Tartars were sacking and burning the towns of Moravia and Silesia, they fell upon Neutra, Leweng, and Novigrad, which they took, extending thus the base of the operations. The Janissaries then out-manœuvred the famous General Montecuculi on the Raab, and the war assumed the most favourable aspect; but the enemy was reinforced, and a great battle was fought at St. Gotthard. The overwhelming masses of the allied troops were concentrated;

the left wing, composed of a French force under the command of Coligni, bore down upon the Turks, at the same time when Von Spork was closing at the head of the right wing, formed of Germans; and Prince Charles of Lothringen, with his northern knights, charged their front. The shock was too violent and extended to be withstood, and the Janissaries were obliged to give way, endeavouring in vain to rally as they fled. This was the first pitched battle which they lost, and so decisive a defeat became the forerunner of a long series of disasters.

Their career of conquest was over, and it was a career altogether without a parallel in history. Generation after generation had advanced without ever retrograding a single step. A vast empire had arisen out of the hereditary valour and systematic discipline of a portion of the army. It was not the creation of the military genius of an individual like that of Alexander the Great or Napoleon Buonaparte, but it was the result of a successful organisation, assisted by the inherent bravery of the Turkish race, which enabled their sultans to follow up from father to son the ambitious scheme of the founder of the dynasty. But, at the close of that era of conquest, the organisation of the Janissaries had become corrupt, the prestige of almost invariable good fortune had disappeared, and their internal discipline was declining fast, while their indomitable valour had degenerated into overweening pride, seditious turbulence towards the government, and cruel tyranny over the population.

PERIOD OF DECLINE.

By the treaty of peace consequent on the defeat of St. Gotthard, Turkey lost Transylvania.

The Sultan, then, injudiciously embarked in the feud which

had arisen between the Poles and the Cossacks of the Ukraine, the latter having thrown off their allegiance to the crown of Poland, and placed themselves under the protection of the Khan of Crim Tartary. Sobieski was the champion of the Polish cause; Mohammed of that of the Cossacks. The latter prevailed at the outset, and the occupation of Kaminiers induced the Poles to offer terms. A peace was concluded, but it was broken by Sobieski's victory at Chotzim. The Turks recovered that fortified town, and gained command of all the territory lying between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper. So far the campaign promised well, and the Turkish army was fortunate in partial engagements; but Sobieski soon brought them to a decisive battle at Lemberg, where they were worsted, and they did not attempt again to take the field.

The Sultan was next induced to make war in favour of his vassal, the king of Hungary, Emmerich Tekeli; and Kara Mustapha Pasha marched to Vienna with 200,000 Turks, Hungarians, and Tartars. In the space of sixty days fifty mines were sprung, eighteen attempts were made to storm the town, and twenty-four sallies were effected; but Sobieski arrived with his Poles, the Elector of Bavaria, the Duke of Lothringen, the Margraves Herrman and Louis of Baden, and several other princes, with their respective armies of Germans; and the Turks were driven back with great loss. In their retreat, skirmishes and running fights succeeded each other; and in all of them the Turkish army suffered severely. Their principal reverses were the battle of Parkany, the capture of Gran, the fall of Wissegrad, the defeat near Hamsabeg, and the siege of Ofen. In other parts of the Empire the Turks were equally unfortunate, as the Cossacks were in the mean time overrunning Bessarabia, and the Venetians under Morosini were threatening Greece.

After three years, the capital of Hungary was taken from

the Turkish army by the Duke of Lothringen, and they were defeated at Mohaes, the scene of their former victory. Thebes and Athens were taken by the Venetians; Belgrade by the Elector of Bavaria; Stuhlweissenburgh was also stormed; and the war in Bosnia was successfully carried on by the Margrave Louis of Baden.

The Ottoman troops were more successful, however, against the Poles; they advanced as far as Lemberg, and they gained a victory at Bega on the Temes; but their good fortune was not lasting, for Azoph was soon taken from them by the Russians and a great advantage was gained over them by Prince Eugene at Zeuta. Peace was obtained at enormous sacrifices on the part of Turkey, who lost all Hungary on the left bank of the Danube, Slavonia was ceded to the Austrians, the Peloponnesus and several fortresses of Dalmatia to the Venetians, and Kaminiecs to the Poles.

After the humiliation of Sultan Mustapha II., through the ruinous treaty of 1699, his brother, Sultan Ahmed III. ascended the throne, and his reign became remarkable in history, principally on account of the prominent part he played in the long and obstinate contest between Charles XII. of Sweden called by the Turks "Ironhead," and Peter the Great of Russia whom they had surnamed "White Mustachio." Almost every State of Europe was engaged in war at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Besides the struggle between the Czar and the Swedish King, which was chiefly fomented by the anarchy of Poland, and the rival candidates for the throne of that ill-fated country, France and Austria were fighting for a similar object in Spain, and most of the other powers were indirectly involved in these disputes. Turkey alone enjoyed profound peace until the eventful battle of Pultava brought Charles to Bender, where he succeeded in persuading the Sultan to espouse his cause. War then broke out between

Turkey and Russia, and they commenced the campaign of the Pruth, which ended so unfavourably for Peter the Great, that several historians have erroneously attributed his having escaped scot-free to the cunning of his wife, the Empress Catherine I., who was misstated to have bribed the Turkish Vezir. No opportunity was offered, however, in that campaign for the display of prowess or military efficiency, if any such still existed, on the part of the Janissaries, for the battle, which preceded the treaty of peace, was fought on unequal terms, and the Turkish troops, though victorious, cannot justly be considered as having then retrieved their reputation as an army.

A war ensued with Austria, which was occasioned by an offensive and defensive alliance entered into by that power with the Republic of Venice, which was then disputing the possession of the remainder of Greece and the Greek Islands with the Ottoman Empire, whose progress as a maritime power was a source of alarm and jealousy. Prince Eugene defeated the Turkish army at Peterwardein, in Hungary; Belgrade, after two battles before the gates, was stormed by that great captain; and Temesvar, Bucharest, and Yassi were taken from the Sultan. Peace was made at Passarowitz on the basis of *uti possidetis*, and Turkey, not being in possession of several important points, lost them altogether, with the exception of the Moldo-Wallachian provinces, which she retained.

In the war of 1738, there was a rally on the part of the Turks, and the Russians were deprived of Bender and Oczakow, principally, however, from sickness and famine among their troops, as the radical defect of that army was, and still is, its commissariat department. The Austrians were driven out of Semendra, Orsova, and Mehadia. The following campaign in Bosnia and Servia was also favourable, especially in the victory at Krozka; but not so the operations against Russia in Bessarabia and Moldavia Proper. The results, however, were not

on the whole disadvantageous to Turkey, as the treaty of Belgrade soon gave her the present boundaries of the empire.

For forty years the Ottoman Porte enjoyed, or rather suffered, uninterrupted peace; and the evil became apparent as soon as that peace was broken, for the strength of the state was sapped and corroded by the disorganisation of the civil power, and the oppression of the military ascendancy, which were then in full operation, and the Empire had been as much injured by anarchy at home during inaction, as it could have been by the most disastrous wars abroad.

The death of Augustus III., King of Poland, and the intrigue of the Empress Catherine II. in behalf of her favourite, Stanislaus Poniatowski, who aspired at regal honours, roused the suspicion of the Sultan, that this pretext might be made available by Russia, the natural enemy of Turkey, for the purpose of stealthy aggrandisement at her expense; and that mistrust was confirmed by the sudden equipment of a numerous army. The Sultan followed the example, and sent those newly raised troops along with the Janissaries to the frontiers. War was soon declared, and two Russian armies, under the command of Galitzen and Romanzoff, advanced to the attack. The Albanians and Greeks were simultaneously invited to revolt, in order to create a diversion in the rear. The Turkish troops were no longer in a state to resist, and, after having frequently routed the choicest chivalry of Europe and spread terror wherever they appeared, as is abundantly attested by the panic-stricken historians of the day, they were obliged to yield to an abject and half-disciplined soldiery, which, as Marshal Munich, one of their most distinguished captains, records, could sometimes be induced to fight only by the persuasive argument of their own artillery firing upon them from behind. Moldavia was occupied; the Turks were driven back to Isactsha, on the right bank of the Danube; 50,000 of them were

defeated by Romanzoff at Kagul; Bender was taken; Bessarabia was overrun; and the Khan of Crim Tartary altogether renounced his allegiance to the Sultan. The following campaign was more favourable; the Capudan Pasha, Hassan, had forced the Russians to recross the Danube; and internal revolt at Orenburgh and Cazan weakened Russia. But the death of Sultan Mustapha III. offered an opportunity to the Janissaries for a mutiny which was now more congenial to their degenerate condition than the glory and hardships of loyal warfare; and their advantages with regard to Russia remained unimproved. The latter was rising, in her turn, and the ambition of conquest, which had led the Turks into Europe, now brought the Russians again to the south of the Danube. The battle of Pazardjik was fought; the Janissaries were defeated; and the treaty of Kutshuk Kainardjé alienated for ever the Crimea from the Ottoman Empire, and prepared the way for the predominant exercise of Russian influence in the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia.

The alliance of Catherine II. with Joseph II. of Austria boded ill for Turkey. That singular woman, as it appears, had conceived the wild project of expelling the Turks from Europe, restoring the empire to the Greeks, and placing on its throne one of her grandsons, to whom she had given the name of Constantine with that intent. The Divan understood the danger, and declared war. The Austrian army, under Lascy, did more injury to its master than to his enemy; Gustavus III., of Sweden, engaged Russia in the north; but Laudon and the Prince of Coburgh, at the head of another Austrian force, won the battle of Forshan, freed the Banat, and took Belgrade; while Suwarrow beat the Turks at Martinesti. The Ottoman Empire was relieved, however, by the other European powers who threatened Russia and Austria, and by the disorders which had occurred in the Brabant and in Hungary. Austria

was thus forced to resume her former position by a treaty based on the principle of the *statu quo ante bellum*, in requital of her bad faith towards Turkey, who had alone strictly observed the articles of the peace concluded at Belgrade; and Russia was obliged to accept the river Dniester as a frontier, and to ratify that condition in the subsequent treaty of Yassi.

This was the first instance of European interposition in favour of Turkey, and the precursory act to that system of policy, founded on the balance of power, which has since been adopted by all enlightened statesmen as the only safeguard to general peace. The security of the Sultan's throne might thus have been effected, but the army, which had converted the small Ottoman principality of Broussa into the vast empire of Constantinople in less than a century and a half, and that empire, which once extended from the gates of Vienna to Tabriz, in Persia, from Poland to Abyssinia and the Indian Ocean, contained in themselves the germ and elements of intestine discord and decay to so great a degree, that in the fifth century of their annals the frequent recurrence of insurrections among the population, revolts of provincial governors, and seditions in the army, had completed their disorganisation, deprived eight sultans of their lives or their thrones, and condemned the nation to the ignominy and loss arising from the treaties of Kainardjé and Akermann. That splendid army, which by its superior discipline had wrestled triumphantly with all that Europe could produce of military skill and valour at the battles of Varna, Nissa, and Kussova, and in whose ranks the sultans themselves volunteered to be enrolled as the first soldier of the 1st *Orta*, and to receive the pay of a private, to do them honour and encourage them to further deeds of high emprise, had become an open sore in the body politic, a source of weakness, and a cause of decline. The spirit of independence cherished by the rulers of distant portions of the Empire, the

elevation, by Imperial favour, of the sons of noble families to the highest dignities of the state; the sale of public functions in direct violation of Mussulman law; the establishment of the system of confiscation of property on dismissal from office, or on private accusation; the omission of appointing the princes of the Imperial family to viceregal posts, as enjoined by organic regulations; and the practice of preventing them from quitting the capital, had gradually placed the monopoly of power in the hands of the Janissaries, who became the arbiters of the fate of the dynasty and of the Empire, like the Prætorian Guards of Rome and the Strélitz of Russia, and dethroned or crowned the sovereign whom they opposed or favoured. Having lost all recollection of their ancient discipline, they usurped the high appointments of the government, civil as well as military, conferring them on those whom they protected; and their cruelty and lawlessness towards the population made them the objects of universal terror. Thus, ambition and fear, the desire of attaining rank, and the instinct of self-preservation, combined to induce great numbers, without distinction of station or calling in life, to become affiliated (*Yoldash*) in the different companies of the Janissaries. General disorder and confusion of authority, therefore, pervaded every branch of the administration, even in the reign of Sultan Ahmed III., for this corps, which was merely one of twelve composing the army, had then absorbed the whole power of the state; and the baneful effects of habitual corruption and venality had undermined the foundations of its national prosperity. The fatal results of this latter vice in the constitution of Turkish official relations were understood by many, however, and the probability of its eradication was evident as far back as the middle of the last century; those results were even foreseen at an earlier period, as the following anecdote, recorded in an old Turkish chronicle, will show:

Selim Pasha, one of the vezirs of Sultan Murad III., having failed in an application to the Grand Vezir for a small appointment under government, in behalf of a person in whom he was interested, offered a sum of money to the Sultan himself, on condition of his obtaining the object of his wishes. The Sultan accepted the bribe, and granted the request of the vezir, who is stated by the author of the chronicle, his own secretary, to have exulted over the revenge he was thus taking for the dethronement of his family by the Ottoman invaders, for Selim Pasha was the descendant of the sovereign princes of Shehsuvar, and he foresaw the future decline of the victorious Empire in this first sale of office, in contradiction to the text of the Mahometan laws, which is explicit and peremptory on this subject.

The illegality of these practices was nobly vindicated by another padishah, however, the Sultan Selim I. That monarch was solicited by his ministers, on his return from the conquest of Syria and Egypt, to confer the rank of a subaltern officer in one of the companies of Janissaries on the son of a merchant who offered to desist from an incontestable claim on the treasury for the sum of 40,000 ducats in return for this favour; and the Sultan inscribed the following resolution on the report of the council which recommended the petition:

"We have just annexed two kingdoms to the Empire bequeathed to us by our ancestors, who strictly observed the divine laws and the regulations of that Empire. We swear to order the immediate execution, without trial, even of the most esteemed of our ministers and councillors, who may dare to propose to us the slightest deviation from these laws and regulations. The sum claimed shall be instantly paid to the merchant."

With regard to the rank applied for, it is probable that no minister or councillor, who valued the possession of his head,

would make any further allusion to it, for Sultan Selim I., although just and conscientious, was of so violent a disposition that it was a common saying amongst the Turks, when bad luck was wished to an enemy,

"Would you were the Vezir of Sultan Selim!"

His descendant, Sultan Selim III., eminent for the depth and loftiness of his views, also fully comprehended the nature of the evils which were apparently precipitating his empire to its fall; and he boldly conceived the project of employing the only possible remedy—a fundamental reform. But, with his mild and conciliating temper, the means were more difficult of application than the end was obvious and desirable; and he was fated to leave the great task, which he had imposed on himself, to be accomplished by the iron hand of his nephew, Sultan Mahmoud, on whose mind he had impressed the imperative necessity of a radical change as the only defence from national ruin.

This monarch, from the time of his accession to the throne in 1808, never for a moment lost sight of this object, and adopted no measure which did not tend indirectly towards its fulfilment. He acted on the principle embodied in an Arab proverb, which he frequently quoted in conversation with his ministers, and which may thus be rendered in English,

"Circumspection comes from Heaven—haste is sent by the demon."

His constant aim was the subdual of those traditional enemies of the throne, the Janissaries; and he warily and perseveringly pursued his purpose, turning to account the occasional revolts of provincial pashas, and even the revolution of the Greeks and the wars with Russia, which were all disadvantageous otherwise to Turkey.

After the peace of Sistova, Austria appeared to have withdrawn from the ranks of the enemies of Turkey, but Russia

still continued her aggressions. Georgia first fell a prey to her thirst of dominion; then Moldavia and Wallachia were invaded. The Czar had given the widest latitude to his interpretation of the clauses regarding the Danubian Provinces, which were inserted in the treaty of Kainardjé, and had usurped an active protectorate instead of the position of a guaranteeing power, which had then been forcibly obtained by him. His undue assumption of authority was resented by the closing of the Bosphorus to its ships, and on this spirited measure being adopted, a Russian army, under the orders of General Michelson, advanced to demand justice. They crossed the Dniester, took Bender and Chotzim, and entered Yassi, the capital of Moldavia. Thence they marched on that of Wallachia. The Ottoman army, led by Mustapha Bairaitar, opposed their progress, and was routed. The inhabitants of Bucharest, deluded by the fair promises of their *soi-disant* protectors, rose against the Turks, and, joining Michelson's advanced guard, drove them from the town. The Russians thus obtained possession of the Moldo-Wallachian provinces. Another army was raised by the Sultan at Adrianople, and he endeavoured in vain to recover his lost territory, for his troops could no longer cope with the Russian soldiers in the open field. In the following campaign, the latter crossed the Danube and attacked the fortified town of Rustshuk, but they were repulsed with a loss of 6000 men. Shumna was next besieged, and also successfully defended. When the contending armies met, however, in a general action, the Turks were defeated and obliged to retreat, leaving Rustshuk in the hands of the enemy. The Sultan then sent a fleet to attack the Crimea, while the Russian troops followed up their success in Bulgaria, until they finally drove the Turks across the Balkan to Adrianople. Mahmoud II. now raised a large force, which he confided to the renowned Kavonosogla Ahmed Aga, for the purpose of attacking the

qually celebrated Kutusoff, at Rustchuk. The latter was vercome, and, being unable to save the town, he transported ts inhabitants to the left bank of the Danube, and set fire to he place. The Turks entered it, however, in time to extinguish the flames. They followed the Russians across the river; but Kutusoff by an able manœuvre despatched a division of his army to turn their flank, and to attack the camp which they had left on the right bank. Being thus cut off, Ahmed Aga was obliged to capitulate, and the Russians were glad to make peace, as their own country was then being invaded by Buonaparte. In the conclusion of the treaty, the Turkish interests were betrayed by Morousi, a Greek employed on that occasion, who paid for his treachery with his head; and the Ottoman Empire was shorn of all the territory lying between the rivers Dniester and Pruth, which had hitherto formed the Bessarabian portion of the province of Moldavia.

When the Greek revolution broke out, the Wallachians, secretly instigated by Russia, revolted against their sovereign, the Sultan; but this attempt to create a diversion in favour of Greece was unsuccessful, as the insurrection was speedily repressed.

Ali Pasha, of Jannina, had also taken up arms against the Sultan, in the hope of forming a kingdom for himself with the aid of the Greeks; but, after a vigorous resistance, he fell.

The Peloponnesus, meanwhile, was in a state of open rebellion. The Turkish army, under Kurshid Pasha, was kept in check by the Suliotes of Marco Botzaris in Western Greece, while the town of Tripolitza was stormed by Colocotroni. The battle of Peta was fought and won. Those of Fanari and Negropont followed with equal success. Thessaly and Epirus were still held by the Turks under Dramali, and he marched on Corinth; he took that town, but Nauplia surrendered to the Greeks, and Omer Vrioni was obliged by Botzaris and

Mavrocardato to abandon the siege of Missolonghi. The Seraskier, Selim Pasha, himself took the field with Mustapha Pasha. Their troops were repulsed by the rebels under Botzaris at Karpenissa, in Thessaly. The Pasha of Egypt was then called on to aid the Sultan, and the war assumed a more naval character, while the army of that viceroy, under the command of Ibraham Pasha, played a prominent part; and the Janissaries were, therefore, less engaged, excepting at the second siege of Missolonghi under Reshid Pasha. The war of five years had been a long series of reverses, and the territory forming the present kingdom of Greece was lost to Turkey; which result was partly attributable to the indifference of the Sultan in the commencement of the struggle, which he regarded in the same light as the numerous revolts that had occurred, while his opposition was dictated more by the wish to expose the Janissaries, than by the fear of losing a province.

CONTRAST OF THE TWO PERIODS.

In the first phasis of Turkish history, many great battles, both in Europe and in Asia, proved the valour and efficiency of the Ottoman army, and principally of the Janissaries. The series begins at Agridshe, which town they stormed in 1288; and after that come the victories of Kujunhissar, over Muzalo, the commander of the Byzantine guards, in 1301; of Pelekanon, when they defeated the Emperor Andronicus Junior, in 1330; of the Marizza, in which they routed the combined Hungarian, Servian, and Bosnian forces, under King Louis, in 1363; of Iconium, where they beat the Caramanians, in 1386; of Kussova, where they conquered the different Sclavonian armies, in 1389; of Nicopoli, where they totally routed the French and German knights under King Sigismund, 1396; of Tshamurli,

when they made Mohammed sole master of the Empire, in 1413; of Varna, where they destroyed the armies of the Hungarian king, Louis, and of Hunyad, in 1444; of Kussova, when they defeated Hunyad's second army, in 1448; of Ermenak, where they again routed the Caramanians, in 1465; of Larenda, where they overcame them for the third time, in 1466; of Terdshan, when they conquered the Prince Usunhassan, in 1473; of Rosbeuni, where they subdued the Moldavians, under their hospodar, Stephan, in 1476; of Sadbar, where they vanquished the Croatians under Derencseny, in 1493; of Tshaldiran, when they overthrew Shah Ismail, in 1514; of Merdsh Dabik, where they defeated the Mameluke king, Kansu Ghavri, in 1516; of Mohacs, where they beat the Hungarians, under their king, Louis II., in 1526; of Keresztes, where they routed the Austrians, in 1596; and of Neuhaüsel, where they defeated the Hungarians, under Forgais, in 1663.

The number of signal defeats which they suffered from the year 1288 to 1663, was only four, being those of Angora, where the Turks were routed by Timur, in 1402; of Vasag, where they were worsted by Hunyad, in 1442; of Sivas, where they were beaten by Usunhassan, in 1473; and of Villach, where they were defeated by Kinis, in 1492.

Shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century, the period of decline commenced, and the Janissaries, who were the primary cause of it, were accordingly as remarkable thenceforward for their want of success as they had previously been for their victories.

Thus, Montecuculi repulsed them at St. Gothard, in 1664; and they were defeated by Sobieski at Chotzim, in 1673; by the same at Lemberg, in 1675; by Lothringen at Parkany, in 1684; by the same at Mohacs, in 1687; at Salankemen in 1691, at Zenta in 1697, and at Peterwardein in 1716, by Prince Eugene; at Arpashai, by Nadir Kuli Khan, in 1736;

on the River Kagul, by Romanzow, in 1770; at Pazardjik, by the Russians, in 1774; at Foishan, by Laudon, in 1789; at Martinesti, by Suwarrow, in the same year; at Rustshuk, by Kamensky, in 1811; at Peta, by Botzaris, in 1822; and at Karpenissa, by the same, in 1823.

Their victories, from the year 1664 to 1826, when the Janissaries were destroyed, consist only in those of Parkany, where Sobieski was defeated by them, in 1683; of Bega on the Temes, when the Austrians were beaten by them, in 1696; of Duldsheilik, where the army of Nadir Shah was routed by them, in 1733; of Krozka, where the Austrians, under Wallis, were defeated by them, in 1739; and of Rustshuk, when the Russians, under Kutusoff, were driven across the Danube by them, in 1812.

This period of almost unvarying discomfiture, after a career of equally unparalleled success, must have a cause. The Sultans experienced no difficulty in raising troops; these troops were still remarkable for that personal courage which is a characteristic of their nation; it therefore could only arise from the deterioration of their discipline, which was notorious; and the decline of Turkey, when sifted and analysed, will be found to have proceeded from the corruption of the Janissaries more than from any other source.

DESTRUCTION OF THE JANISSARIES.

THE value of the Janissaries as a regular army had been sufficiently tested, and the time had now arrived when Sultan Mahmoud II. judged it expedient to cut the Gordian knot. He issued a proclamation, obliging all his troops to submit anew to the discipline which they had cast off for more than a century and a half. The Janissaries refused obedience. The Sultan unfolded the Sacred Standard of the Empire, and

placing himself, with his only son and heir, beside it, he appealed to the patriotism of those around him. He drew his dagger, and said, in a loud voice,

"Do my subjects wish to save the Empire from the humiliation of yielding to a band of seditious miscreants, or do they prefer that I should put an end to that Empire by here stabbing my son and myself in order to rescue it from the disgrace of being trampled upon by traitors?"

He then ordered that the standard should be planted on the Atmeidan, or Hippodrome; crowds of people, from the highest to the lowest classes of society, headed by the *Ullema*, or magistrates, and the *Softa*, or students, assembled round the standard, and, having heard what the Sultan had said from those whom he had addressed, the mob, excited by enthusiasm, hurried away to carry the alarm through the town. All who possessed or could procure arms prepared them, and rushed to attack the barracks of the Janissaries. The corps of artillery, having torn off the badges, which were also worn by those abhorred regiments, that all appearance of fellowship with them might at once be destroyed, commenced the onslaught. Three hours, with 4000 artillerymen and students, incited by that resolute will, which had foreseen and provided for every possible casualty during eighteen years of apparent submission to the tyranny of a *caste*, sufficed to annihilate the military ascendancy which had once made the sovereigns of Europe tremble abroad, as it had the sultans at home. The attack, however, was directed against only one side of the square, and the other three, as well as the neighbouring gate of the town, were purposely left open, with the view that those of the Janissaries who did not wish to resist the Sultan's order might escape unharmed; and quarter was given to all who chose to submit. Similar orders having been simultaneously sent to every part

part of the empire where Janissaries were stationed, the same conditions were offered to 150,000 individuals affiliated to the corps. Of these only 3600 refused them, and they were the most incorrigible of the chiefs. Having been made prisoners they were tried by a regular court of justice, and it was only necessary to prove their identity in order to condemn them, as the Sultan had carefully compiled the proofs of their respective crimes during many years. Eighteen hundred of them were executed, of whom 600 at Constantinople, 1200 being put to death in the provinces; and the remainder were exiled. Although it must have been an appalling sight to behold those 600 corpses lying on the Atmeidan, one cannot help admiring the patriotism elicited on that occasion; when the Janissaries perceived it, they were stupified by the unexpected excitement of the people; and many fled, fully convinced of the impossibility of resisting those over whom they had hitherto domineered with impunity. Their dispersion was an essential condition of the very existence of the Ottoman Empire; the example was necessary to save it from contempt, and to raise it out of that state of prostration into which it had fallen; legal forms were rigidly adhered to, and in no one case was sentence arbitrarily passed; and being, therefore, a necessary measure, legally executed, it is impossible to admit the justice of the censure which has been lavished on it by detractors of Turkey, or to refuse the admiration really due to the long foresight, steady preparation, and vigorous energy, with which this act of supreme retribution was consummated. That the example was most salutary became evident in the conduct of the Janissaries on board the fleet: Khosref Pasha, the admiral in chief, was ordered to call upon them to make their submission, or to suffer the alternative undergone by their comrades; and not a single individual hesitated to abjure the name and quality of a

Janissary, or to swear unbounded allegiance to the Sultan. Even trifles, which could call to mind the mere existence of the hated band, were destroyed; all the signs and symbols worn by them were eschewed; the very tombstones of their predecessors were broken and defaced; and the designation of every public office, which bore a title connected with their hierarchy, was altered.

SECOND ERA.

FORMATION OF A NEW ARMY.

SULTAN MAHMOUD had not the good fortune to enjoy a few years of peace for the purpose of replacing the Janissaries by other regular troops; his measures to that effect were called into action when still immature; his army sent to battle when but half organised; for no reign had ever more revolts to repress; no sovereign more enemies to defeat both at home and abroad. But his system was adhered to with a tenacity of purpose belonging only to great minds. He had said that no confiscations nor official vengeances should be exercised when he abolished capital punishment for political crimes, and he had declared that the inherent character of the general administration of public affairs should undergo a total change. No danger, either national or personal, moved him for a moment to deviate from these resolutions. Pashas rebelled, and were promptly reduced. Instead of exposing their heads at the Seragli gate, and appropriating their private fortunes, he allowed them all—Mustapha Pasha of Scodra, Abd' Ullah Pasha of Acre, Beys and Agas, Albanians, Bosnians, Kurds, and Turcomans—to walk about securely in the streets of Constantinople; and to those who were not in affluence he even gave pensions for their subsistence. He was frequently engaged in calamitous wars from without, and he always bore up against the most disheartening reverses,—labouring indefatigably for the realisation of his favourite scheme, and endeavouring by every means to encourage his raw levies of

undisciplined troops, as he was eagerly devoted to the task of replacing the army, which he had dissolved, by one that might successfully cope with his enemies. He had traced the decline of his Empire to its true cause—the neglect of discipline among the troops; and the revival of that discipline which, *ceteris paribus*, must, by a logical conclusion, restore his country to its former high place in the scale of nations, became the principal object of his solicitude. But time was the first element of its re-establishment, and time was not vouchsafed to him. In vain he wore the uniform of a private soldier to raise the dignity of the profession; the veteran warrior-slaves of the Czar mowed down the ranks of his young recruits, who were not inured to harassing campaigns and bloody fields of battle, nor sufficiently exercised in their movements to cope with an army of long standing, which was also greatly superior in numbers. In vain he formed in his own palace four companies of pages or military pupils, to serve as the *nucleus* of a regular force; Russian ambition did not wait till their education was completed; and it was only in the more fortunate reign of his successor that these companies became battalions, the battalions regiments, the regiments brigades, and the brigades an army.

His troops at their best epoch were composed of the guards (*Bostandji*, literally gardeners), the line (*Mansuré*), and the artillery (*Topdji*). The guards consisted of five regiments of infantry, one regiment of body-guards, four regiments of light cavalry, one regiment of cuirassiers, and one regiment of horse-artillery; in all, 18,000 men. The line contained twenty-one regiments of infantry, two regiments of heavy dragoons (carabineers), and twelve regiments of light horse (*Sipahi*); the whole strength of these regiments being 56,000 men. The artillery was formed of three regiments, with sixteen batteries of six guns each; one regiment of horse-artillery, one regi-

ment of grenadiers armed with hand-grenades, and one regiment of engineers, sappers, and miners; composing a total of 8400. Besides these troops, there was, at a late period of Sultan Mahmoud's reign, another military formation, consequent on a decree which appeared in the year 1835. Each provincial council was thereby ordered to raise a regiment with the co-operation of the municipal councils; and all citizens capable of bearing arms, without being incapacitated by family circumstances, were enrolled in its ranks. This was a national guard, or local militia, headed by the principal proprietors of the country, and electing its own officers. A short time after the unfortunate campaign of Konia, against the rebellious Pasha of Egypt, this force, consisting in twenty regiments bearing the names of the provinces to which they belonged, numbered 62,000 men, but they could not be classed as regular troops. These provinces were those of Adrianople, Philippolis, Silistra, Widyn, Uskup, Monastir, Trikhala, Kibris (Cyprus), Kastamoni, Boli, Chudavendghiar (Broussa), Karahissar, Aidyn, Ssmir (Smyrna), Hamid, Konia (Iconium), Kaisarich (Cesarea), Angora (Ancyra), Sivas, and Erzerum. This list shows that the extensive provinces of Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Bagdad, Syria, Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis, and, in Europe, those of Servia, Bosnia, Epirus, Albania, the islands of the Archipelago, and Crete, were either in open revolt or virtually withdrawn from the influence of the Sultan. The state of the Nizam, or regular army of the present day, amply demonstrates what an extensive change, with regard to the limits of the imperial authority, has been operated since then in Turkey, as will presently be made evident by returns and tables compiled from authentic sources of information on this subject, which is as yet but little known, and less appreciated. The total number of troops maintained during the reign of Sultan Mahmoud II., therefore, never exceeded

144,000 men; and although he dedicated one-third of the whole revenue of the state—that is, 1,000,000*l.* out of about 3,000,000*l.*—to the organisation and support of a regular army, he could not at any time assemble a force of 50,000 effective soldiers for the defence of the country when required.

PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

On the day when the corps of Janissaries ceased to exist, it became possible that a new era should dawn on the Ottoman Empire, but a period of transition was still to be undergone. The periods of conquest and decline had passed away, but a struggle must be endured before the era of regeneration could commence, for the period of transition was clouded by many difficulties and dangers; indeed, so numerous and so great were they that it furnishes matter for wonder how the Empire did not altogether succumb under them in the defenceless condition then entailed on it.

The Sultan was soon involved in an all-important war with the Czar, in consequence of the destruction of his fleet at Navarino by three powers, with which he was then at peace, and of which Russia was one. The numbers stated by the Russian bulletins as composing the united forces of the Grand Vezir and Omer Vrioni, when they joined them with the view of relieving Varna, were 30,000 men, and that statement was probably exaggerated; while the strength of the whole Turkish army, equipped on that occasion under Hussein Pasha, is quoted on good authority to have been 31,800 infantry and 13,000 cavalry, most of them mere boys. Besides these, there were the irregular troops, calculated to amount to 100,000 men, under the command of the disaffected and unruly pashas, who had raised them in their respective provinces,

and among whom the Pasha of Scodra was so insubordinate as to withdraw with his levies at the most critical moment. And their numbers could scarcely be greater, for some of the contingents required never reached the seat of war, although it lasted two seasons, as in the case of the Bosnians, while others, like the Servians, were not even mustered, so utterly loosened were the ties which formerly united the Ottoman government and the population of the Empire.

The conduct of the regular troops in that war, in which the aggressive policy of Russia towards Turkey was openly opposed, serves to illustrate the argument which these pages attempt to develop. The organisation was altogether incomplete; but even in its embryo state the germ of future efficiency may be discerned. The national indignation was roused against the covetous neighbour who had stealthily encroached on their territory and prerogatives by a long series of hostilities and usurpations, during which, now a fortress was retained after a peace had been concluded, now the course of another river was made the frontier, and a province was purloined by a treaty through the bribery of a venal agent, and now a privilege was claimed or a right asserted which a few years previously had been solicited as a concession; and the Turkish soldiers entered on the first campaign with all the fire and spirit of a brave and independent people, while the elements of discipline and subordination were manifest in their unity of feeling and spontaneous action. These intrinsic qualities produced their effect, notwithstanding that comparatively imperfect discipline and numerical weakness precluded the possibility of ultimate success, for the Emperor of Russia brought an army of veterans into the field, 160,000 strong.

This premature trial of the new army took place in Bulgaria between the Danube and the Balkan, which are the two lines

of defence protecting Turkey on the north. The great river forming the outer line was crossed with little difficulty by the Czar, who directed the operations of his army in person; and, indeed, the Danube, in spite of the four fortresses on its right bank, Widyn, Nicopolis, Rustshuk, and Silistra, can oppose no great obstacles to an invasion by a power possessing a fleet in the Black Sea to cover the flank of its army and facilitate the supplying of provisions. The Turks, being well aware of this, consequently place their sole reliance on the protection afforded them by the Balkan, which is their inner line of defence, and whose thick woods and rocky declivities offer an effectual impediment to the movements of regular troops. This barrier of mountains varies from fifteen to twenty-one miles in breadth, and there are five passes by which it can be crossed with more or less facility by heavy artillery and waggons. Three of these passes, and the most practicable of the five, are covered by the fortified towns of Varna and Shumna, which may thus be considered as the keys of the Balkan; and the latter place, in the hands of a moveable army as its centre of operations, must be of the greatest value, as it opens on Rustshuk, Silistra, Varna, and the mouths of the Danube; none of these points being more than three days' march from it. Both Shumna and Varna, however, owe their strength rather to their natural position than to their artificial defences, as the former is altogether open, and the walls of the latter are without salient angles or other means of retarding an enemy's approach; but the marshes around Varna would render it difficult for a battering-train to get within available distance of it; and the intrenched camp of Shumna, situated as it is, when occupied by a numerous and determined army, must weaken an attack upon the place by complicating and dividing it. Before reaching these two points there was not much to stop an army, and the Emperor, accordingly, soon obtained

possession of the fortified towns of Ibraila, Isactsha, and Hirsova. Thence three corps of the Russian force moved simultaneously on Varna, Silistra, and Shumna. The first was reduced through the treachery of Yusuf Pasha, as it was said at the time; the siege of the second was afterwards raised; and the third was still invested at the close of the campaign. When hostilities were resumed in early spring, the Turks attacked the Russians, who had then been reinforced, at Eski, Amandla, Devra, and Kosludji, with partial success. They marched against Pravadi, which had been occupied by the Russians; and when they were thus engaged, Marshal Diebitsch effected the celebrated passage of the Balkan. He had proceeded from Silistra towards Pravadi, enclosing the Turks who, on facing him, had the garrison of that place in their rear. Ibrahim Pasha fought a battle against 40,000 Russians with 100 guns; his soldiers sustained the conflict gallantly, and with a good prospect of success; but the day was lost through their inexperience of warfare, as they took alarm at the blowing up of four caissons, which they did not comprehend. In order to deceive the Turks, Diebitsch retired on Yeni Bazaar, as if determined to regain Silistra, which had meanwhile surrendered for want of powder to stand an assault when the Russians had succeeded in constructing five mines, and had effected two practicable breaches. Suddenly altering the direction of his march, he advanced with great rapidity on the exposed left flank of his adversary the Grand Vezir, and, finding his general movement so far unsuspected, threw himself with his whole force into the Pasha's rear, and upon his direct line of communication with the capital. The Turks, thus taken by surprise, first attempted to cut their way through the enemy; but they were in their turn attacked, and, after an obstinate and protracted resistance, during which they inflicted a severe loss on the Russians, they

were totally routed, leaving in the hands of the latter sixty pieces of cannon, their whole *matériel*, and many prisoners. Favoured by the dense forests and mountain fastnesses, which impeded pursuit, the Grand Vezir escaped with a small part of the wreck of his army into Shumna. The irregular energies and imperfect organisation of the Sultan's army were thus forced to yield to the superior resources and efficiency, as well as to the greater numbers, of their disciplined opponents. Diebitsch, therefore, crossed the great chain of the Balkans, at the head of 40,000 men, without resistance, as the small Turkish force occupying the pass had previously been massacred by the natives, who were gained by the Russians. The latter, having carried with them provisions for only a few days, an army more accustomed to forced marches than that of Sultan Mahmoud II. might still have obliged them to retreat towards the sea-coast for supplies, by showing front from place to place until their provisions should be exhausted, and the northern bulwark of Turkey might yet have been untrodden by the foot of an enemy; but Diebitsch was already on his way to Selimnia before the 10,000 men sent by the Grand Vezir for that purpose had reached even Kiuprekiu. The disastrous treaty of Adrianople put an end to this war, in which the Turkish army lost everything "*fors l'honneur*," like Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, while Russia lost only 140,000 men and 50,000 horses, principally from sickness and famine, occasioned by her deplorable commissariat department, the notorious defects of which demonstrate the value she attaches to the lives of her soldiers; and she irrecoverably lost, moreover, that mask of disinterestedness with regard to Turkey which she had hitherto thought fit to wear in the stipulation of her treaties.

The next political crisis in which the efficiency of the Turkish army was put to the test was the revolt of the ambi-

tious Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt. The attempt of his fellow-countryman, Ali Tepedelen, to convert his pashalik of Jannina into an independent kingdom, composed of Greece, Epirus, and Thessaly, seemed to have made a deep impression on the kindred mind of the Viceroy of Egypt; and scarcely had the career of the former closed when the scheme of the latter to place himself at the head of a new state raised another and a fiercer storm on the clouded horizon of Turkey. Gifted alike with all the firmness and courage which are characteristic of the Albanian race, he was not less deeply versed than the Pasha of Jannina in the artful and astute policy which had raised them both to the government of important provinces, while the inconsiderate sympathy of France acted as a powerful stimulus to his insatiable ambition. Abd' Ullah, Pasha of Acre, the celebrated rebel, having come to an understanding with the well-known Emir Beshir of the Druses, threatened the total loss of Syria to the Ottoman Empire. The wily old Mehemet Ali, perfectly aware of the impossibility of independence for Egypt without the annexation of Syria, hoped to take advantage of this danger, in order not only to assume an imposing attitude himself, but also to accomplish the extension of the dominions over which he hoped to reign. But he commenced the execution of his deep-laid project under the garb of attachment to that sovereign whom he intended to betray, and he marched his troops against the revolted Pasha of Acre. Sultan Mahmoud understood the ultimate tendency of this movement, and enjoined his viceroy to desist from his officious zeal; and this order was the more necessary, inasmuch as the union of Abd'Ullah Pasha with Emir Beshir, which had given just cause of alarm at Constantinople, had been of short duration. Mehemet Ali attacked Acre, however, and the Sultan resolved on opposing by force his further insubordination. The Grand Vezir at that

time, Kurd Reshid Pasha, who had distinguished himself in the pacification of Albania, was thought a fitting person to undertake the settlement of affairs in Syria, where the Egyptian troops were rapidly advancing when he arrived on this mission, after Hussein Pasha had failed at Seraskier, in command of the Turkish army, when it was found necessary to adopt coercive measures towards Mehemet Ali. A battle was fought at Konia, the scene of former glory, and the young soldiers of the Sultan were totally routed. The victorious troops marched on Constantinople. The greatest excitement ensued there. Many, who were attached to the ancient system of abuses which had crept into the government in all its branches, and who viewed with an eye of jealousy and distaste the uncompromising purification of that system by the Sultan, raised a spirit of opposition to his measures and his person, which spread like wildfire amongst the unenlightened classes of the population, and created a powerful diversion in favour of Mehemet Ali Pasha, whilst the emissaries of the latter were assiduous at Constantinople in representing him as being animated by the most orthodox horror of innovation, and as having nobly determined to save Islam from ruin. It was reported that he had a descendant of Mahomet in his camp, whom he was bringing to succeed Sultan Mahmoud on that throne which the latter was accused of having weakened by his ill-judged and heretical changes. Political antipathies and religious prejudices were enlisted in the cause, and the Sultan was called upon, for the first time, to wrestle with an enemy more formidable than revolted viceroys and foreign invaders —public opinion. A certain degree of discouragement became evident on the part of Sultan Mahmoud; and well might he feel mortified and disappointed to witness these results of a policy, which he, and every intelligent and dispassionate Oriental statesman, considered to offer the only chance of

rescuing the Ottoman Empire from total dissolution, although partisans of the old system were to be found even amongst nations enjoying the institutions which he was endeavouring to confer on Turkey. Wars from without, sedition within, detraction abroad, unpopularity at home, his very ministers openly disapproving his measures, and his subjects looking anxiously for an usurper to take his place; censure and condemnation on all sides, excepting from the chosen few who comprehended him; the downfal of his empire confidently foretold by the most keen-sighted and acute of politicians, and his misfortunes gazed at either with cold indifference, or with self-interested hopes by European cabinets; while his health was also sinking under constant uneasiness. Such was the position of Sultan Mahmoud; and was it not enough to shake the firmest resolution, and to cause the most patriotic intentions to falter? He committed the only great error of his reign. Instead of appealing to the loyalty of his subjects, who might still have cast off their growing disaffection and have rallied round his throne, as they did against the Janissaries, he decided on seeking foreign support. On applying to England and France, all interference in his difficulties was declined, on account of the state of affairs in the north-west of Europe, which were then precipitated to a crisis by the siege of Antwerp. France secretly favoured his enemy; but England had no such motive for keeping aloof, and it was a signal error on her part not to come forward on that occasion as the friend and ally of Turkey; but it can only be explained by that radical failing of the nation which takes little interest in the vicissitudes of other states until it is forced to emerge from its indifference by commercial considerations. The consequence of this inherent apathy with regard to European questions, however serious they may be, was, in this instance, an appeal to Russia on the part of the Sultan. The Czar labours under

no such disadvantage; he is keenly alive to the importance of his conduct towards other nations, and he sedulously availed himself of the golden opportunity to further his designs in the East. A Russian army arrived at Constantinople; the arrangement of Kutahié took place between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt, which result might equally have been produced by the appearance in the Bosphorus of the Mediterranean fleet of Great Britain, and even by a diplomatic note or manifesto. After the Viceroy had been confirmed in his governments of Egypt and Syria, his army retired, and the treaty of Hunkiar Skelessi was concluded between Russia and the Porte, by which an exclusive alliance was stipulated to the detriment of England.

A short respite was now allowed to Sultan Mahmoud, and he eagerly turned it to account by advancing the organisation of his army. The affairs of Kurdistan, however, too soon called it into active service again; a camp was formed at Malattia under the command of the Seraskier, Hafiz Pasha, a confidential agent of the Sultan; and immediate steps were taken by him for the pacification of that province. In the movement of his army he approached the river Euphrates. The attention of Ibrahim Pasha, who commanded the troops of the Viceroy of Egypt in Syria, was attracted by the vicinity of an armed force, and he marched to the frontiers of the province. The Sultan's sense of dignity could not well brook this act of menace and provocation; his courage had completely revived, and he determined on chastising the arrogance of Ibrahim. The ministers, however, objected to this resolution, foreseeing in it the repetition of what had been undergone in the previous campaign, and being little attached, perhaps, to the cause and convictions of Sultan Mahmoud. Rejecting all counsel, and crushing every attempt at opposition, he despatched an order to the Seraskier to advance immediately with his army on Biredjik. The con-

sequence of this movement could be no other than a violent struggle between the two armies; and so impatient to learn the result did the Sultan become, that he was thrown into a serious illness, the germ of which had probably been implanted in his constitution by the uneasy and harassing life he had led for many years. When suffering the greatest anxiety on the subject of his army, thus engaged with the enemy, which anxiety doubtless exacerbated his disorder, Sultan Mahmoud expired. He had scarcely breathed his last when the intelligence reached Constantinople that a great battle had been fought at Nezib, in which the Sultan's forces had been totally routed by those of his rebellious subject. This was the finishing stroke; and the new army, being now completely disorganised and broken up, may be said to have ceased to exist. The fleet, which had gradually resumed its former condition since the calamity of Navarino, was under the command of Ahmed Fevzi Pasha, a man of good intentions but weak judgment. Seeing the Pasha of Egypt victorious and the Sultan dead, and believing that the system of the latter had died with him, and that the former was destined to reconstitute the Empire, he committed that act of treachery, which was, in fact, a mistake rather than a crime, and which he was instigated to commit by the French Admiral Lalande: he set sail with the whole naval force of Turkey, and placed it at the disposal of the Viceroy of Egypt. Thus ended the period of transition between the fall of the Janissaries and the formation of the Nizam; and so violent and repeated had been the shocks which the Empire sustained during that interval, that it was generally regarded as being on the point of utter annihilation.

THIRD ERA.

PERIOD OF REGENERATION.

SULTAN MAHMOUD, like Aristides, was called *Adli*, or the Just, and whatever may have been the judgment of contemporary historians, there is little doubt that his name will descend to posterity as that of a great man, an able monarch, and a benefactor of his country. But the reforms which he had undertaken were far from having been practically realised by him. He broke down barriers which had hitherto been considered insurmountable, and he laid open the path which alone could lead to the regeneration of Turkey, without having succeeded in treading that path himself; and the glorious task of completing the work begun, and of giving a palpable existence to ideas which had not yet become facts, remained for his more fortunate successor to accomplish. Sultan Mahmoud could only dig the foundations and place the first stone of the edifice which Sultan Abdul Medjid has since been enabled to erect; for a species of fatality seemed to pursue the father, while, in everything which he has undertaken, good fortune has attended the son; and this career of success on the part of the latter commenced immediately on his accession to the throne, as only a few months after the defeat of Sultan Mahmoud's army of 80,000 men at Fezib, the hitherto victorious Ibrahim Pasha was driven out of Syria by 12,000 of Sultan Abdul Medjid's soldiers.

The greater success of the young Sultan in reviving the enfeebled energies of Turkey, depended very much on the dif-

ferent means employed by the two sovereigns to attain the same end: the late Sultan did everything himself, selecting the instruments he thought most fitting, but using them as mere instruments; the present Sultan, on the contrary, drew to himself those whom he judged to be most capable of aiding him and most worthy of his confidence, and employed them as counsellors and assistants as well as ministers. The necessary result was the inauguration, for the first time in Turkey, of the great and salutary principle of the responsibility of the ministry. Thence great benefit was of course derived, and the more so, inasmuch as his usual good fortune presided also over the choice of his ministers; for it is to Reshid Pasha that the Ottoman Empire is indebted for the *Tanzimat*, or organic law of equality, tolerance, and personal freedom and security—for the abolition of mercantile monopolies—for the establishment of sanitary regulations—for the submission of the provinces—for the concentration of political power—for the advantageous stipulations of 1840 with the great cabinets of Europe—and for the commercial treaties which have been concluded with most of the foreign states.

The *Tanzimat*, literally, *setting in order*, is one of those remarkable political acts which stamp at once the character of a government, and whose vast importance entitles it to rank among the most praiseworthy of concessions by monarchs to the advancing enlightenment of the age in which they live, more especially when it is reflected under what circumstances it was promulgated. The proclamation took place on the 3rd of November, 1839. Numerous tents were raised in the gardens of the imperial palace of Top Kapu, known by the name of Gul Haneh, and crowds of high dignitaries were assembled, including the representatives of foreign courts, while troops were drawn up in the neighbouring streets and squares. The young Sultan arrived; and, when he was seated

in the pavilion prepared for him, the patriarchs of the Greek and Armenian Churches, the chief rabbi of the Jews, and deputations of the different corporations, together with the members of the government, followed by their *employés*, were admitted to his presence. The chiefs of the *Ullema* and the senior general officers of the Empire took their places; the Grand Vezir presented the Hatti Sherif to Reshid Pasha; and the latter ascended a *rostrum* to read it aloud. Its tenor is sufficiently interesting to justify the quotation of the whole—the more so, as it does not appear to have been made as public in England as it deserves to be, and notwithstanding that no translation can do justice to the original in the Turkish language:

"Every one is aware that, in the early ages of the Ottoman monarchy, the glorious precepts of the Coran and the laws of the Empire were a rule for ever honoured. In consequence of this, the Empire increased in strength and greatness, and the population, without exception, reached the highest degree of welfare and prosperity. A succession of incidents and different causes during a hundred and fifty years have brought about the cessation of that conformity of conduct with the sacred code of laws and with the regulations emanating from it, and the previous vigour and prosperity have been exchanged for weakness and poverty; for it is a fact that an empire must lose its stability when it ceases to observe its laws.

"These considerations are constantly present to our mind, and ever since the day of our accession to the throne, the idea of the public well-being, the improvement of the provinces, and the relief of the people, has not ceased to occupy it exclusively. Now, if one considers the geographical position of the Ottoman provinces, the fertility of the soil, and the aptness and intelligence of the inhabitants, one must be convinced that, by endeavouring with perseverance to find efficacious means, the

result, which with God's help we hope to attain, can be realised in the space of a few years. Full of confidence, therefore, in the aid of the Most High, founded on the intercession of our prophet, we judge it expedient to seek by new institutions to procure for the provinces composing the Ottoman Empire the benefit of a good administration.

"These institutions must be principally based on three points, which are: 1. The conditions which ensure to our subjects the enjoyment of perfect security of life, honour, and property; 2. A regular mode of establishing and collecting the taxes; 3. A method equally regular of recruiting soldiers and of fixing their term of service.

"And, indeed, are not life and honour the most precious enjoyments that exist? What man, whatever repugnance his character may inspire against violence, will be able to refrain from it, and thereby injure the government and the country, if his life and his honour are endangered? If, on the contrary, he enjoys in that respect perfect security, he will not deviate from the paths of loyalty, and all his acts will contribute to the good of the government and of his fellow-subjects.

"If there is no security of property, every one remains deaf to the voice of his sovereign and his country; no one cares for the wealth of the nation, being absorbed by private anxiety. If, on the other hand, the citizen confidently possesses his substance, of whatever kind it may be, then, full of ardour for his business, of which he strives to extend the sphere in order to increase that of his enjoyments, he feels every day multiplied in his heart attachment to the sovereign and the country, and devotedness to the nation. These sentiments become in him the source of the most laudable actions.

"With regard to the establishment of regular and fixed taxes, it is very important that this matter should be settled; because a state, which for the defence of its territory is forced

to incur various expenses, cannot procure the funds necessary for its armies and other wants otherwise than by contributions levied from its subjects. Although, thank God, those of our empire are now delivered from the scourge of monopolies which were formerly erroneously regarded as a source of revenue, still one fatal practice exists notwithstanding that its consequence cannot be otherwise than disastrous, which is that of venal concessions known by the name of *iltizam*. By that system, the civil and financial administration of a locality is given up to the arbitrary conduct of an individual—that is, sometimes to the iron hand of the most violent and covetous passions; for if the administrator be not a good man, he will think only of his own private advantage.

"It is, therefore, necessary, that henceforth every member of Ottoman society should be taxed for a certain quantum of the imposts in proportion to his fortune and faculties, and that nothing more should ever be exacted from him. It is also necessary that special laws should fix and limit the expenses of our land and naval forces.

"Although, as we have said, the defence of the country be an important thing, and although it be the duty of all its inhabitants to provide for soldiers to that effect, it has become necessary to establish laws for the regulation of the contingents to be furnished by each locality according to the necessities of the time, and to reduce the term of active military service to four or five years; because it is both committing an act of injustice, and striking a fatal blow on agriculture and industry, to take in one place more men and in another fewer than it can furnish, by paying no attention to the amount of population; and, in the same manner, by keeping soldiers for a whole lifetime in the service, they are reduced to despair, and it tends to depopulate the country.

"In short, without the various laws, the necessity of which

is now understood, the Empire will have neither strength, nor wealth, nor happiness, nor tranquillity; and it may, on the other hand, expect them all from the existence of these new laws.

"For these reasons the trial of every one who is accused shall henceforth take place in public, according to our divine laws, and after full inquiry and examination; and as long as no regular sentence shall have thus been passed, no one shall secretly or publicly put another to death, by poison or in any other manner.

"No one shall be allowed to assail the honour of another.

"Every one shall possess his property of every kind, and shall dispose of it with perfect liberty, without obstacle on the part of any one; thus, for instance, the innocent heirs of a criminal shall not be deprived of their legal rights; and the property of a criminal shall not be confiscated.

"These imperial concessions are extended to all our subjects, of whatever religion or sect they may be, and they shall enjoy them without exception. Perfect security is therefore granted by us to the inhabitants of the Empire, with regard to life, honour, and property, as is required by the sacred text of our law.

"With reference to the other points, as they must be regulated with the concurrence of enlightened opinions, our council of state (augmented by as many new members as may be necessary), to whom will be united on certain days, which we will assign, our ministers and the notable persons of the Empire, will meet to establish regulations and laws on these points of security of life and fortune, and of the levying of taxes.

"Every one in these assemblies will state his ideas freely, and give his opinion.

"The laws concerning the organisation of the military ser-

vice will be discussed in the military council, holding its meetings at the palace of the Seraskier.

"As soon as a law shall be framed, in order to be for ever valid and applicable, it shall be presented to us; we will furnish it with our sanction, which we will write above it with our imperial hand.

"As these present institutions are dictated alone by the motive to make religion flourish, as well as the government, the nation, and the Empire, we pledge ourself to do nothing contrary to them. In proof of our pledge we will, after having deposited the laws in the hall which contains the glorious relics of the Prophet, in presence of the *Ullema*, and all the magnates of the Empire, take an oath on the name of Allah, and make the *Ullema* and magnates also swear to that effect.

"After that, any one of the *Ullema*, or magnates of the Empire, or any other person whatsoever, who may violate these institutions, shall suffer, without the least distinction of rank, or consideration for the individual or the credit he may enjoy, the penalty corresponding to his guilt fully established. A penal code shall be drawn up with this view.

"As all the functionaries of the Empire receive at present suitable salaries, and as the remuneration of those who are not sufficiently paid will be regulated, a vigorous law shall be passed against the traffic of favour and appointments (*rishwet*), which the divine laws condemn, and which is one of the principal causes of the decline of the Empire.

"The enactments above decided being an alteration and complete renovation of the old usages, this Imperial edict shall be published at Constantinople and in every part of our Empire, and shall be communicated officially to all the representatives of the friendly powers residing at Constantinople, in order that they may be witnesses of the granting of these institutions, which, please God! shall last for ever.

"May the Most High God keep us all in his holy care!

"May those, who shall do a deed contrary to these institutions, be the objects of divine malediction, and be deprived for ever of all kinds of happiness!"

Reshid Pasha then handed the Hatti Sherif to the Grand Vezir, who pressed it to his lips and forehead. The *Sheik-ul-Islam* pronounced a prayer, and the artillery fired a salute from all the batteries of Constantinople. The *cortége* proceeded to the hall, where the oaths were taken, after an address, which the Sultan made, enjoining obedience, and the ceremony was concluded.

This great idea did not remain a mere written law, a monument of good intentions unrealised, a barren expression of what was required; it was carried into practice with as much uncompromising determination as it had been conceived with rectitude, penetration, and patriotism. It is now the law of the land, virtually applied, and universally respected. Its substance speaks for itself, and needs no comment. It may not, however, be generally understood by those who are little acquainted with the state of Turkey, that it was not an increase of privilege granted by a sovereign to his subjects, in compliance with their assertion of right, more or less seditiously expressed, as is generally the case when power yields to numbers; but it was originated by the government, and, in a manner, it was forced upon the people, who were endowed with the best prerogatives of enlightened government, as it were, in spite of themselves. Not being a concession extorted, there was no danger of its realisation being evaded, as has so often been the case in other countries; and the change, having been seriously undertaken, was conscientiously effected. That it was advantageous, will hardly be contested.

Besides this signal achievement, other most vigorous measures were adopted, as soon as the new reign had commenced,

for the purpose of securing the Empire from the many immediate and formidable dangers which surrounded it. The system of finance was remodelled in a manner principally based on the abolition of certain fiscal practices which weighed heavily on the agricultural and industrial resources of the country; and the results obtained were abundantly favourable, for in the second year the revenue rose from scarcely 3,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.*, and it is now little short of 8,000,000*l.* Sultan Abdul Medjid next conceived a project of the highest importance, and it was carried out with the able co-operation of Reshid Pasha, who was even then the leading minister, although his department was only that of foreign affairs; this scheme combined in the most masterly manner the two great ends of organising a new and more efficient army, and of progressively applying to the most disaffected provinces the system of the Hatti Shérif of Gul Haneh, which is often called the Reform of Turkey, but which, in reality, is merely a return to the ancient legal order of public administration by the extirpation of all the irregularities and abuses of power, which two centuries of anarchy and disorder had substituted in the place of the legitimate mode of government founded by Mussulman law, and by the original institutions of the Empire. There was nothing of innovation in the change; but, on the contrary, a polity, which had survived the principles of its first era, and only continued to live in virtue of the powerful impulse of its ancient energy, still extant in its decline, was brought back to the simplicity and purity which pervaded its previous state of existence. Turkey, therefore, was not a corpse, as some writers contended, but a body paralysed; it revived as soon as the enlightenment of the present generation recalled it to life; and the rare and interesting spectacle is now presented of a country having totally altered its political condition in the short space of eleven or

twelve years through the spirited and patriotic exertions of a few individuals, while that salutary change promises to be permanent, because the system will be continued by the pupils and imitators of those few eminent statesmen, each of whom is surrounded by a chosen band of disciples brought up in their principles. The most experienced of European politicians have been deceived in this issue of the adversities of the Ottoman Empire; the current predictions of its approaching and inevitable downfal have been belied; and no pride of intellect need take umbrage at the failure of prevision in this respect, for it is not a common occurrence in the history of the world that a new power should rise on the ruins of an old one without the loss of independence during that period of transition, which usually seals the fate of nations so situated, and overthrows them to make room for another domination.

The formation of a new army, and the subjugation of the insubordinate provinces, were the two objects aimed at; and, with a degree of ingenuity and practicability that deserved and obtained success, those two objects were combined so as to be accomplished by the same means. Through the application of the new system to the provinces, the union of a prosperous population of 35,000,000 was effected in the place of a feeble people of 18,000,000, remaining faithful to the Sultan, and suffering at the hands of their fellow-subjects who were disaffected; and in attaining this important end, by the organisation of a new army, an effective and efficient force of 335,000 men was substituted in lieu of a disorderly one of scarcely 150,000, while the mode of recruiting the latter exhausted the population, and that of the former cannot injure it. In addition to these two essential advantages, there have also been other accessory and collateral effects of the modern policy of Turkey: an augmentation, for instance, of 1,000,000 inhabitants, calculated to have been saved from the plague and other

contagious disorders by the establishment of quarantines, the introduction of vaccination, the institution of hospitals for the indigent, and the passing of a law against infanticide; and 3000 families have also been annexed to the population of Turkey through immigration from neighbouring states, which furnishes a practical proof of the greater welfare now enjoyed under the Ottoman rule than in Russia, whence emigrants have settled in Bulgaria,—than in Hungary, which many have left to establish themselves in Servia,—than in Greece, which has furnished inhabitants to several villages of Thessaly, —than in Georgia, to which the province of Erzerum has been preferred by a considerable number,—than in Persia, the conterminous districts of which have been drained of their population by Kurdistan; while all these countries are still in process of contributing their contingents to the aggrandisement of modern Turkey, which contingents, though composed of elements so heterogeneous, become rapidly incorporated and amalgamated with the indigenous inhabitants, through the instrumentality of those principles of justice and philanthropy which form the broad basis of the new institutions of the Ottoman Empire. These are some of the practical results of the exertions of Sultan Abdul Medjid, ably seconded by those around him, and these results sufficiently demonstrate how admissible is the assumption that with his reign commenced a period of regeneration in Turkey.

EXISTING FORCES OF TURKEY.

THE Nizam, or regular army, organised by the present Sultan, which is the most prominent and conspicuous feature of the new system, and which is the most engrossing consideration with respect to Turkey, in the present era of wars and rumours of wars, was established in the beginning of the year

1842, under the special superintendency of the Seraskier, Riza Pasha, then leading minister. It is divided into six separate armies, called *Ordu* in Turkish. Each of these consists of two services, the Active, or *Nizamia*, and the Reserve, or *Rédif*. The former contains two corps, under the command of their respective lieutenant-generals (*Férik*); and the latter, also two corps, commanded in time of peace by a brigadier (*Liva*); the whole *Ordu* being under the orders of a field-marshal (*Mushir*). The general staff of each army is composed of a commander-in-chief, two lieutenant-generals, three brigadiers of infantry, one of whom commands the reserve, two brigadiers of cavalry, and one brigadier of artillery. In each corps there are three regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and one of artillery, with thirty-three guns. The total strength of these twelve regiments of the active force is 30,000 men, but it is diminished in time of peace by furlough to an effective strength of about 25,000 men in three of the six armies, and of 15,000 in the other three, in consequence of the recruiting system being as yet incomplete in its application all over the Turkish Empire. The whole establishment of this branch amounts, therefore, to 180,000 men belonging to the active service, but its effective strength is at present 123,000. The reserve of four of the six armies consists in eleven regiments—six of infantry, four of cavalry, and one of artillery; composing a force of 212,000 effective soldiers, while the other two armies have not yet their reserve of soldiers who have served five years. In time of war, however, the reserve would form two corps of 25,000 men in each army; giving a total of 300,000 when this establishment shall have been completed. The two services, therefore, as they now stand, form an effective force of 335,000 men; and when their full strength shall have been filled up it will amount to 480,000. Besides these six armies there are four detached corps: one in the Island of Crete, con-

sisting of three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, in all 11,000 men; another in the pashalik of Tripoli in Africa, composed of one regiment of infantry and one of cavalry, about 5000 strong; a third at Tunis of the same strength; and a fourth, which is the central artillery corps, formed of a brigade of sappers and miners with engineer officers, the veteran artillery brigade, and the permanent artillery garrisons of the fortresses on the Hellespont, the Bosphorus, the Danube, in Serbia, on the Adriatic, the coast of Asia Minor, in the islands of the Archipelago, and on the southern shores of the Black Sea; in all 9000 men. These four corps raise the effective strength of the standing army to 365,000 men. Besides this addition, another augmentation of 32,000 men will be realised by the submission of Bosnia and Northern Albania to the new system; and a further increase of 40,000 men, whom Serbia has engaged to furnish, may be calculated, as well as 18,000 men serving in Egypt, who are destined to reinforce the reserve of the fifth army. The marines, sailors, and workmen, enrolled in brigades, amount to 34,000 men; and the police force, picketed all over the Empire, is nearly 30,000 strong. The grand total of armed men at the disposal of Turkey in the event of her existing resources being called into play, may, therefore, be quoted at no less than 664,000 men, without having recourse to occasional levies, which are more easily and efficiently realised in Turkey than in any other country.

The land forces are under the orders of the Seraskier, who is the minister-at-war, as well as the commander-in-chief. He is assisted by a supreme or aulic council (*Darishura*). It is presided over by a field-marshal, and his assessor—a *Kasiaskier*, or president of the supreme court of justice, who has the right of veto—is taken from the *Ullema*, or magistracy. The latter watches over the application of the law in criminal cases which are tried by the council, and he is responsible for the general

measures adopted by it being in harmony with the letter and spirit of Mussulman jurisprudence. There are not many armies in Europe which would not derive advantage from the imitation of this special institution. The military members of the council are two lieutenant-generals, with four official assistants, who are, the lieutenant-general commanding the military schools, the lieutenant-general in charge of the ordnance stores, the lieutenant-general superintendent of manufactures for the army, the factories being government property, and the lieutenant-general commander-in-chief of the reserve. The civil members are invested with the financial and administrative functions of the aulic council; and the major-general at the head of the central staff, as well as the general officer performing the duties of adjutant-general, are also attached to the aulic council. The business transacted by this body is divided into two sections: the first being the judgment of appeals and the revision of sentences; and the second consisting in the disposal of the troops, their movement, and the purchases for their use. Besides this supreme council, each army has its council of war, which is formed of a lieutenant-general, the chief of the staff, the senior major-general, the two senior colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, a military superintendent, or paymaster, and a secretary (*kiatip*), having the rank of major; and each garrison has also its council, composed of the senior officers in their respective rank. These councils try military offences, but they do not pass sentence, as the application of the law is entrusted to the aulic council alone, and they merely take evidence, give their opinion on the guilt of the accused, and report the case to head-quarters, acting thus as a jury rather than as a tribunal. No one who has been in the habit of sitting on regimental courts-martial in the British army can avoid wishing that the Turkish system in this respect should be adopted as a model, for many a soldier in its ranks has been

condemned by judges who are less adequate to wield the sword of justice than that of victory, and whose education has but little prepared them for the appreciation of evidence, to understand the nature of which a special study is required. This principle, which deserves admiration in the Turkish army, is applied also to the military conduct of every commanding officer, however diminutive may be his command; and no officer so situated, be it in the direction of a company, a battalion, a regiment, a brigade, a corps, or an army, can act without the concurrence of his respective council; but when he does act, the responsibility is his own. This is an excellent system in a newly-organised force, as it precludes the possibility of abuses of power, and irregularities or even dishonesty in the mode of provisioning, &c. In this respect the British army requires no lesson from other military establishments; but there is a great army of Europe which would do well to take a leaf out of the Sultan's book in this respect, and that army belongs to the Sultan's habitual enemy; for the soldiers of the Czar suffer more cold, hunger, and sickness wherever they are exposed to hardships than the troops of other countries, in consequence of the speculating on clothing, food, and medicines, which is practised by colonels, captains, and surgeons.

The Nizam is almost too well cared for, if such a thing be possible, with regard to the material comforts bestowed on those to whom the safety of a country is confided. The pay of a private varies, according to the branch of the army in which he serves, from 20 to 30 Turkish piastres per month—that is, from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. sterling, which is exclusive of food, medicines, and clothing. The rations consist of meat, bread, rice, and vegetables in abundance every day, besides butter or oil to cook them with. No beverage is allowed but water, according to Mahometan rules; and the expense to government of each ration is 60 piastres per month, which, with his

clothing, for which no stoppage is made, raises the pay of a Turkish soldier above that of a British one. The military hospitals might serve as a pattern of cleanliness to the first armies of the world, and the medical officers are now perfectly efficient, some of them having studied at European universities, others having become proficients in their art at the medical college of Constantinople, and a few being foreigners. The health of the troops is consequently excellent; so much so, that on one occasion, when 50 men out of 3450 were in hospital, it appeared so alarming to the staff of the garrison that a general consultation was held to decide on what steps should be taken to oppose the progress of the sickness. One man in every seventy is no unusual occurrence in the hospitals of the British army; and as for the Russians, they thought little of 12,000 who died at Bucharest in 1829, 10,000 at Varna, and 6000 at Adrianople. The Turkish clothing is excellent; it is strong and warm. The uniform is plain and neat—dark blue, with red facings, excepting the cavalry and artillery of the 2nd *Ordu*, who wear red jackets, and, in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th, purple, brown, fawn-coloured, and light blue. The officers have gold epaulettes, and lace on their collars and cuffs, according to their rank. Their rations are included in their pay, which is as follows:—

	Piastres per Month.	Per Annum.
Field-marshal (*Mushir*)	100,000, or about	£11,000
Lieutenant-general (*Ferik*), while in command of a corps	50,000 „	5,500
Ditto, while in command of his sole division	25,000 „	2,750
Major-generals (*Liva*)	10,000 „	1,100
Colonels (*Miralaï*)	3,000 „	330
Lieutenant-colonels (*Kaïmakam*)	2,000 „	220
Majors (*Binbashi*)	1,500 „	165
Adjutants (*Colagasi*)	700 „	75
Captains (*Yuzbashi*)	500 „	54
Lieutenants (*Mulazim*)	350 „	35
Ensigns (*Mulazim Sani*)	280 „	28
Sergeant-majors (*Bash Tshaüsh*)	80 besides their rations.	
Serjeants (*Tshaüsh*)	60 „	
Corporals (*Onbashi*)	40 „	

By this table it would appear that the superior officers are overpaid, and the inferior officers underpaid.

The army estimates are 2,000,000*l.* per annum, and those of the navy 800,000*l.*

The colonelcies of regiments are not conferred, as in Great Britain, on old officers as a species of retiring allowance, but the officers of that rank in Turkey assume the active command of their regiments. There is no brevet rank, and every step has its corresponding duties. Colonels are assisted by their lieutenant-colonels, and battalions are commanded by majors, who are aided by their adjutants. In this latter rank there is a decided improvement on the practice of old armies, like that of England, in which the difficult and responsible duties of the adjutant are performed by subalterns, often very young officers, and, in the absence of the lieutenant-colonel and major, the command of the battalion is taken by the senior captain, who cannot possess the general experience in the regiment which an adjutant has the means of acquiring. In the Turkish army the rank of adjutant is higher than that of captain, and most military men will probably admit that this is an excellent arrangement. All the officers rise from the ranks, excepting those who have come from the military schools.

Each *Ordu* of the Turkish forces has a preparatory school, and there are thus six military schools for the whole army, besides two superior schools, and one for the navy. The former are directed by a lieutenant-general. Nearly all the private soldiers have learnt to read and write.

Corporal punishment is almost unknown in the Turkish army, and it is only applied in the most serious cases, imprisonment being the usual punishment.

In their evolutions the Turkish soldiers are rapid, especially the cavalry and artillery, whose horses are excellent; but there

may perhaps be some room for improvement in their steadiness. It has been remarked of late at Bucharest, where the Turkish and Russian armies of occupation have their headquarters, and are consequently often reviewed, that the latter were infinitely slower than the former, and that their light infantry drill was far inferior to that of the Turks, but when moving in line or open column, the Russians, stiff as planks and dreading the lash, kept their distances and dressing somewhat better than the Turks. It may be added in illustration of the respective solicitude of the two armies for the health of the men, that, after one of these field days, 300 Russians went to hospital in consequence of exposure to the sun, and 160 of them died, while there has not been a single instance of the kind amongst the Turkish troops.

With such an army as this, formed by a nation whose inherent bravery has never been impugned even by its most prejudiced detractors, it will readily be allowed that, were the campaign of 1829 against the Russians to be fought over again now, the result would be very different, considering how many years the regular troops of the Sultan have been in training, and also how undeniably the Russian army has been falling off, for it was not then to be compared with what it had been in 1815, and it is not now equal to what it was in 1829.

The regiments of infantry of the Turkish army being for the most part four battalions strong, the relative proportions which have been established in the numerical strength of the three branches of the service, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, indicate a perfect comprehension of the combinations necessary for the substitution of a regular army in the place of a comparatively undisciplined force. The troops of uncivilised nations are generally all mounted, because foot soldiers are powerful only by their union and order, which qualities cannot be

obtained in undisciplined armies: while horsemen, whose efficiency consists in the rapidity of their movements, are always formidable, even when acting independently of each other, and in disorder. But in civilised warfare, it is the infantry alone that can secure a victory; cavalry being principally used to complete it by charging broken lines, columns, or squares, and to disperse a retreating enemy by pursuit; and artillery serving only to commence the attack and prepare for the closing of the hostile lines. Both of the latter branches of an army are merely accessories, and are available otherwise only when the former cannot be brought into action, and occasionally to cover its slower movements. It was, therefore, necessary in organising the Nizam, that the cavalry, the favourite force of the Turks, should be made more subservient to the infantry. But, as the cavalry, and still more the artillery, whose efficiency depends on the precision of its fire, and on quickness in the working of the guns, must always present a greater difficulty in attaining a satisfactory state, it became expedient to keep their numerical strength above the usual proportion, in order that, in augmenting the army on any emergency, the skeletons of regiments might be filled up by recruits, without their excessive number being prejudicial to the discipline and perfection of evolution of the troops. A proportion was established, by which the most approved ratio might be realised, by adding only a third of the present strength to the artillery, by doubling the cavalry, and by tripling the infantry; and this arrangement on the part of the Turkish reformers, both military and administrative, will be duly appreciated by all who are in the least initiated into the science of war. The numerical strength of each *Ordu*, moreover, is another proof of the system of regular armies being so far understood by the Sultan's government, as no body of troops should be moved independently unless it be composed of at least 10,000 men—an army cannot manœuvre with suc-

cess otherwise than in three corps, a centre and two wings—and by adding a reserve, a sufficient number is thus effected in the organisation of the Turkish forces, while each *Ordu* is not too numerous to be efficiently commanded by a general-in-chief. It seems, also, to have been borne in mind that, when opposed to an army of 100,000 men or more, it becomes advantageous rather to meet it in detached bodies of 30,000 or 40,000 soldiers than in one vast unwieldy force, complicated in its movements, and difficult to provision.

The reserve of the Turkish army is organised in a peculiar manner. It is composed of soldiers who have already served five years in the active force, and who are allowed to remain in their native provinces on furlough, and without pay, for seven years more, during which they assemble for one month of each year at the local head-quarters of their regiment, for the purpose of being drilled; and they then receive their pay, as well as when they are called into active service in time of war. This measure, which was dictated by a spirit of economy, has been eminently successful, inasmuch as a considerable additional force is thus placed at the Sultan's command without its being a continual burden to the State; and the efficiency of that force has been fully demonstrated of late, when an army of 62,000 men was assembled by Turkey in the space of six weeks, on the occasion of the interruption of her amicable relations with Russia and Austria on account of the Hungarian refugees. In another month, 200,000 men of the *Rédif* might have been collected at Constantinople had they been required; and it furnished matter for astonishment to the many foreigners in that capital to behold a thoroughly drilled and disciplined army thus extemporised in a camp, to which a number of mere peasants in appearance had been seen flocking from their villages.

This system is rendered still more complete by the practice

of recruiting regiments from the same districts, in order that, when their five years of active service shall have elapsed, the soldiers may remain together; and the confusion occasioned by embodying pensioners in other countries is avoided in Turkey, where the officers, non-commissioned officers, staff, and rank and file of a regiment continue united, whether on active service or as forming a part of the reserve. They are engaged in agricultural pursuits, or in trade, during their seven years of furlough, being periodically mustered for military exercise, and always ready to move in a body on any point where reinforcements may be necessary, while a salutary feeling of *esprit de corps* is maintained by making each regiment a separate and distinct body of men, raised in the same locality, and most of its members being personally known to each other.

The system of recruiting is most simple. It consists in requiring five years of active service from all able-bodied youths of eighteen years of age; the social institutions of the Turks enabling them to overcome the difficulties incurred in other countries, which practise the method of conscription, where the fact of being married, or of being the only son of a widow, constitute a right of exemption; and, the Christian subjects of the Sultan having now been placed on a footing of social equality with the Turks, it is considered to be a realisation of their newly-acquired civil rights to be enrolled with them, and consequently no right of exemption, did it exist, would be claimed by the former. The well-being enjoyed by the regular troops of Turkey also precludes the possibility of the distaste for a military life forming an obstacle to enlistment there, as it does elsewhere; and, the career of a soldier being congenial to the natural disposition of the population, none of that reluctance to engage in it, which pervades the lower ranks of most nations, appears in the Ottoman Empire. The new organisation of the army is, therefore, far from being unpopular

in the country; and, if it has been opposed in some of the provinces, the obstacle has been rather the desire on the part of the higher classes to maintain the ancient feudal principle, by which each local magnate furnished levies to the Sultan, than any repugnance felt by recruits to joining the Nizam. That principle, which was first assailed in Europe by Charles VII. of France, through the establishment of a standing army, and which was completely abrogated by the subsequent extension of the permanent organisation, to a degree that obliged other states to imitate the example in their own defence, met with as violent an opposition then among the western nations of the Continent, as it has raised in Bosnia. But the Sultan is resolute; he profits by the spectacle of improved military science and strength, which has succeeded to feudalism in those countries; he sees illustrated in the history of his own victorious empire the superiority of disciplined troops over irregular armies, and he is too well aware of the advantages accruing to peaceful arts through the enfranchisement from occasional military service of those, who exercise them, not to persist in the beneficial course which he has hitherto pursued. He has in some respects adopted a different system, however, from that practised by other governments in the substitution of regular recruiting for occasional levies; and in this, greater credit is due to his organisation than if he had merely selected the most perfect in Europe and imitated it, for the peculiarities of the country and the people have evidently been carefully taken into consideration, and the new institution has been admirably adapted to them. Thus the term of service is short, and this is a great advantage to an empire, many of whose provinces are immediately exposed on a most extensive frontier to the menaces of neighbouring powers, not over-well disposed towards them, for every individual capable of bearing arms having served in the Nizam, and being attached to the

corps of his province, a whole nation of disciplined soldiers will thus be constituted, and will be ready at any time to resist the most formidable attacks from without. And the universality of enlistment is not prejudicial to the population, as might be supposed, on the theory that the suspension of the labour of one man must destroy the means of subsistence of several individuals, and as would certainly be the case elsewhere, for the Turkish Empire is, in almost all its parts, essentially agricultural, the soil being abundantly fertile, and the tenure of land such as to enable the cultivator to produce a greater return for his work than in any other country. The period of military service is, moreover, required at a time of life when the occupations of a peasant are least productive, and he is restored to the land as soon as his circumstances would otherwise have rendered him a necessary, as well as a profitable member of his class, for he could hardly have become the head of a family at an earlier age than that at which his active military service concludes, even if he had never enlisted. Success is the criterion of every innovation; the recruiting system of Turkey works admirably wherever its application has been completed, and its full realisation is, therefore, as desirable as it is certain of being soon accomplished.

The distribution of the Empire into recruiting districts, and the portions of it which are already furnishing their contingents, will be best explained and enumerated in the form of a table. But it will assist the appreciation of the subject to show first how the Sultan's dominions have been divided for the purposes of general administration.

The whole Empire is divided into *Eyalet*, or viceroyalties, under the charge of governors-general (*Vaali*), or princes (*Bey*), according to the localities; the *Eyalet* are 37 in number. Each of them is subdivided into provinces (*Sandjae*), administered by governors (*Kaïmakam*, or *Muhassil*); in all, 153. The

provinces contain so many *Casá*, or departments, of which the chief functionaries are called *Mudir*, or administrators; they number 1350. And in every department there are several districts (*Nahiyé*), each composed of parishes (*Mahallé*, or *Carié*).

The *Eyalet* of Edirné (Thrace) contains the provinces of Nevahi (the environs of the capital), Tekfurdagh (Rodosto), Ghelibolu (Gallipoli), Edirné (Adrianople), Philibé (Philippoli), and Slimia (Selimnia).

The *Eyalet* of Silistria (Northern Bulgaria) contains the provinces of Varna (Odessus), Rustshuk, and Tultsha.

The *Eyalet* of Bogdan (Moldavia), and of Eflak (Wallachia), are composed of departments, being themselves only provinces, although they are governed by beys, or princes.

The *Eyalet* of Widin (Bulgaria) comprises the provinces of Tirnova, Widin, and Lom.

The *Eyalet* of Nissa (Western Bulgaria) contains the provinces of Nish (Nissa), Sophia, Samacoo, and Kustendil.

The *Eyalet* of Uskup (Eastern Albania) is formed of the provinces of Uskup, Pristina, and Prezrin.

The *Eyalet* of Serbia contains only that province divided into departments.

The general government of Belgrade includes the fortresses and adjoining territory in detached portions.

The *Eyalet* of Bosnia contains the provinces of Zoornik, Bosna, Kilis (Croatia), and Hersek (Herzegovina).

The *Eyalet* of Rumeli (Central Albania) contains the provinces of Skenderyé (Scutari), Okhri, Monastir, or Bittolia, and Kesryé (Castoria).

The *Eyalet* of Yania (Epirus) contains the provinces of Berat, Arghiri, Yania (Jannina), and Narda (Arta).

The *Eyalet* of Selanik (Macedonia) contains the provinces of Tirhala (Thessaly), Selanik (Thessalonica), Siros (Serres), and Drama.

The *Eyalet* of Djesaïr (the Islands) contains the provinces of Bosdja (Tenedos), Limni (Lemnos), Midillé (Mytelene), Sakis (Chios), Sisam (Samos), Stanco (Cos), Rhodos (Rhodes), and Kipris (Cyprus).

The *Eyalet* of Kirid (Crete) contains the provinces of Hania (Cauea), Retmo (Rhettymos), and Candia.

The *Eyalet* of Castamoni, in Asia Minor, contains the provinces of Khodjàïli (Bithynia), Boli (Paphlagonia), Virantsheir (Honorios), and Sinope (Helenopontus).

The *Eyalet* of Khudavendighiar contains the provinces of Karahissar (Galatia), Kutayieh (Phrygia), Sultan Euni, Khudavendighiar (Broussa), Erdek (Artaki), Bigha (Mysia), Carassi (Asia), and Aïvalik (Cydonia).

The *Eyalet* of Aïdyn contains the provinces of Sarukhan (Lydia), Sighala (Ionia), Aïdyn (Southern Lydia), Mentecha (Caria), and Denizli (Pisidia).

The *Eyalet* of Caramania contains the provinces of Hamid (Isauria), Tekhé (Lycia), Alayieh (Pamphylia), Itshel (Cilicia), Kouia (Lycaonia), and Nighda (Cappadocia).

The *Eyalet* of Adana (Cilicia Petræa) comprises the provinces of Tarsus, Adana, Bilau, Karaïsaly, Uzcïr, and Merash (Comagena).

The *Eyalet* of Bosok (Cappadocia) contains the provinces of Kaisarieh (Cesarea), Bosok, Angora (Ancyra), and Kiangri (Cangara).

The *Eyalet* of Sivas (Pontus Cappadocia) contains the provinces of Amasia, Sivas (Sevaste), and Divrik (Tephrice).

The *Eyalet* of Trebisond (Pontus) contains the provinces of Djanik (Samsoon), Ordu, Karahissarsharki, Gumushhané (the mines), Trebisond, and Ghennieh (Lazica).

The *Eyalet* of Erzerum (Armenia) contains the provinces of Erzerum, Tshildir (Georgia), Kars, Bayezid, and Dersem.

The *Eyalet* of Kurdistan (Corduena) contains the provinces of Mush, Van, Hakiari, Emadiya, Djesiré, and Diarbekir.

The *Eyalet* of Kharprut (Armenia Minor) contains the provinces of Madin, Kharprut, Arabkir, Malatia, and Behisné.

The *Eyalet* of Haleb contains the provinces of Raka (Osrhoena), Aïtab (Coelosyria), and Haleb (Aleppo).

The *Eyalet* of Saida (Phœnicia) contains the provinces of Ladikié (Laodicea), Trablus (Tripoli), Djabeil (the Maronites), Shuf (the Druses), Saïda (Sidon), Biladbeshara (Anti-Lebanon), Akhé (Acre), Nablis (Neapolis), and Kuds (Jerusalem).

The *Eyalet* of Sham (Arabia Romana) contains the provinces of Sham (Damascus), Homs (Emesa), Hama (Apamia), and Adjlun.

The *Eyalet* of Mossul (Adiabeua) contains only departments.

The *Eyalet* of Shehresur (Assyria) contains the provinces of Suleimanieh, Kiosandjac, Revandis, Kerkuk, and Zohab.

The *Eyalet* of Bagdad (Babylonia) contains the provinces of Bagdad, Basra (Bassora), and the government of the Montefiks.

The *Eyalet* of Habesh (Arabia) contains the provinces of Djidda, Mecca, and Nedjid.

The *Eyalet* of Yemen (Arabia Felix) contains the provinces of Mokha, Eharish, and the island of Massu.

The *Eyalet* of Misr (Egypt) contains the provinces of Buheira, Menufiya, Gharbiya, Mansuré, Sharkiyé, Kaliubiya, Kahera (Cairo), Atfehié, Fejyun, Beuisveif, Sujut, and Kena.

The *Eyalet* of Tarablusigharb (Tripoli, in Africa) contains the provinces of Benghasi, Tarablusi Garb, Khams, Djebel, Gharbié, and Fezzan.

The *Eyalet* of Tunis contains the provinces of Tunis, Djerbé, and Aras.

The army is recruited in these provinces as follows, the reserve being always stationed where the corresponding regiment of the active service had been raised.

The 1st *Ordu*, called *Khass-ssa*, or the Guards, commanded by Field-Marshal Topdjubashizadeh Mahmoud Pasha,* and its two corps being under the orders of Lieutenant-Generals Osman Pasha† and Abd' Ul-Halim Pasha,‡ has its permanent head-quarters at Scutari, on the Bosphorus, and Smyrna.

Active Service.	Reserve.	Recruited at
1st Regt. of Foot	Regt. of Ssmid (Nicomedia)	Khodjaïli and Sultan Euni.
2nd do.	Do. of Broussa	Khudavendighiar and Karassi.
3rd do.	Do. of Smyrna	Sarukhan, Sighala, and Aïvalik.
1st Dragoons	Do. of Isnik (Neicei)	In all these provinces.
2nd do.	Do. of Tyra	
Artillery Brigade	Artillery Regt.	In all the provinces of the *Ordu*.
4th Regt. of Foot	Regt. of Aïdyn	Aïdyn and Meutecha.
5th do.	Do. of Kutayieh	Kutayieh and Karahissar.
6th do.	Do. of Sparta (in Pisidia)	Deuizli, Hamid, and Telshé.
3rd Dragoons	Do. of Karahissur	In all these provinces.
4th do	Do. Sparta.	

The 2nd *Ordu*, called *Deri-Seadat*, or Army of the Capital, commanded by Field-Marshal Mehemet Ali Pasha,§ with

* Mahmoud Pasha is an officer of long service and high connexions, his family name indicating his descent from a grand master of artillery.

† Osman Pasha distinguished himself in the campaigns of Kurdistan.

‡ Halim Pasha is a cavalry officer of distinction, who commanded the dragoons in the first campaign of Albania, in the year 1831, when Scodra was reduced, and was afterwards commander-in-chief at Tripoli, in Africa, where he subjugated the revolted Bedouin tribes with great moderation and prudence, and with little bloodshed, rendering, at the same time, important service to his sovereign, by securing to him, in a great measure, the command of the trade with the interior of Africa through the conquest of the kingdom of Fezzan, which obliged him to march 600 leagues in the desert, fighting his way against the warlike natives.

§ Mehemet Ali Pasha is the Seraskier, uniting the command of this *Ordu* with that of the whole forces of Turkey, as Commander-in-Chief and Minister-at-War. He is the brother-in-law of the Sultan; and political combinations have thus raised him to the third rank in the Empire, the Grand Vezir holding the first, and the chief magistrate (Sheik-Ul-Islam) occupying the second.

Lieutenant-Generals Aarif Pasha* and Saalim Pasha,† in charge of its two corps, has its head-quarters at Constantinople and Angora in Asia Minor.

Active Service.	Reserve.	Recruited at
1st Regt. of Foot	Regiment of Adrianople	Adrianople and Philippopoli.
2nd do.	Do. of Shumna	Silistra and Varna.
3rd do.	Do. of Boli	Boli, Virantshahé, and Kastamoni.
1st Dragoons	Do. of Babadagh	In all these provinces.
2nd do.	Do. of Yozgad	
Artillery Brigade	Do. of Tshorum	In all the provinces of the *Ordu*.
4th Regt. of Foot	Do. of Angora	Angora, Kiangri, Bosok, and Amasia.
5th do.	Do. of Konia	Itshal, Tarsus, Adana, and Merash.
6th do.	Do. of Kaisarieh	Kaisarieh and Nigda.
3rd Dragoons	Do. of Angora	In all these provinces.
4th do.	Do. of Konia	

The 3rd *Ordu*, called that of Rumeli, or European Turkey, commanded by Field-Marshal Omer Pasha,‡ with Lieutenant-Generals Abdi Pasha§ and Avin Pasha,‖ commanding the two corps, has its permanent head-quarters at Monastir in Albania.

Active Service.	Reserve.	Recruited at
1st Regt. of Foot	Regt. of Monastir	In the provinces of Epirus.
2nd do.	Do. of Tirhala	In Thessaly.
3rd do.	Do. of Selanik	In the *Eyalet* of Selanik.
1st Dragoons	Do. of Jannina	Jannina.
2nd do.	Do. of Prezrin	Prezrin and in the provinces of Bosnia.
Artillery Brigade	Do. of Monastir	Monastir.
4th Regt. of Foot	Do. of Uskup	In the *Eyalet* of Uskup.
5th do.	Do. of Sophia	In the provinces of Nish.
6th do.	Do. of Wydin	In the *Eyalet* of Wydin.
3rd Dragoons	Do. of Sophia	In these provinces.
4th do. (not yet formed).	.....	

The 4th *Ordu*, called of Anadolis, or Asia Minor, com-

* Aarif Pasha is well known as an able organiser.

† Saalim Pasha led the famous marches in Mesopotamia with acknowledged skill.

‡ Omer Pasha is by birth a Croatian, and he commenced his military career in the service of Austria. After attaining the rank of captain, he entered the Sultan's army, in which he has reached the highest rank for his service in the Kurd, Georgian, and Syrian campaigns. He has lately been honourably engaged in the pacification of Bosnia.

§ Abdi Pasha signalised himself in the Albanian campaign of 1831.

‖ Avin Pasha has the credit of having organised the reserve.

manded by Field-Marshal Mehemet Reshid Pasha,* with its two corps under the orders of Lieutenant-Generals Ali Riza Pasha† and Selim Pasha,‡ has its permanent head-quarters at Kharprut.

Active Service.	Reserve.	Recruited at
1st Regt. of Foot	Regiment of Sivas	Devriki, Karshissar, and Gheumuchirké.
2nd do.	Do. of Tocat	In the provinces of Sivas.
3rd do.	Do. of Kharprut	In the provinces of Kharprut.
1st Dragoons	Do. of Tocat	In the above provinces.
2nd do.	Do. of Van	In the above provinces.
Artillery Brigade	Do. of Kharprut	Kharprut.
4th Regt. of Foot	Do. of Erzerum	In the provinces of Erzerum.
5th do.	Do. of Kars	Ditto.
6th do.	Do. of Diarbekir	In the provinces of Kurdistan.
3rd Dragoons	Do. of Mardyn	Mardyn.
4th do. (not yet formed).		

The 5th *Ordu*, called that of Arabistan, or Arabia, commanded by Field-Marshal Emin Pasha,§ with its two corps under the orders of Lieutenant-Generals Izzet Pasha‖ and Abd' Ul Kerim Pasha,¶ has its head-quarters at Damascus and Aleppo. It has not yet a reserve service.

Active Service.	Recruited at
1st Regt. of Foot	Damascus.
2nd do.	Balbek.
3rd do.	Acre.
1st Dragoons	Havran.
2nd do.	Tripoli.
Artillery Brigade	Laodicea.
4th Regt. of Foot.	Sidon.
5th do.	Beyrut.
6th do.	Aleppo.
3rd Dragoons	Deirulkamar.
4th do.	Hama.

* Mehemet Reshid Pasha completed his studies at Paris, and at the military college of Metz. He organised the artillery, and governed with distinction the provinces of Acre and Jerusalem.

† Ali Riza Pasha obtained his present high rank merely by right of seniority.

‡ Selim Pasha is reputed to be an excellent general officer.

§ Emin Pasha studied at the University of Cambridge, and is remarkable as a mathematician. He is a member of several scientific societies of Europe, and has distinguished himself in his profession as the organiser of the military schools.

‖ Izzet Pasha is much esteemed for his administrative abilities.

¶ Abd' Ul Kerim Pasha has figured creditably in almost all the late campaigns, and at Bucharest in 1848, and Aleppo in 1850.

The 6th *Ordu*, called that of Irak, a part of Arabia, commanded by Field-Marshal Namik Pasha,* with its two corps commanded by Lieutenant-Generals Shakir Pasha† and Mahmoud Pasha,‡ has its head-quarters at Bagdad and the Hedjaz. It has also as yet no reserve.

Active Service.	Recruited at
4th Regt. of Foot	Bagdad.
2nd do.	Sulymanieh.
3rd do.	Kerkuk.
1st Dragoons	Bagdad and Bassora.
2nd do.	Mossul.
Artillery Brigade . . .	In all the provinces of the *Ordu*.
4th Regt. of Foot	Mossul.
5th do.	Djedda and Mecca.
6th do.	Mokha and Massu.
3rd Dragoons	Derié and Nedjid.
4th do.	Djidda.

The six armies thus form twelve corps.

The 13th Corps is detached in the island of Crete, as stated in the account of the organisation. It is commanded by Major-General Naïli Pasha, and is recruited in the provinces of Crete.

The 14th Corps, that of Tripoli, in Africa, is commanded by Major-General Halid Pasha, and is recruited in the *Eyalet* in which it is stationed.

The 15th Corps, that of Tunis, is raised there, under the orders of Tevfik Pasha.

The 16th Corps, or the Central Artillery, stationed in the fortresses on the different coasts of Turkey, is recruited in the neighbouring provinces, and is in the charge of the different commandants of garrisons.

Besides the places above enumerated as furnishing recruits for the military service, there are others in which men are

* Namik Pasha was formerly ambassador in London and St. Petersburgh. He organised the naval forces of Turkey, and he was the first statesman to whom the application of the new organic law (*Tanzimat*) to a province was entrusted. He established also the military organisation in Syria and Arabia, and he has now been sent to Bagdad for the same purpose.

† Shakir Pasha is an officer who has served his whole career in the guards.

‡ Mahmoud Pasha is a general who has grown old in the wars of the Arabian deserts.

raised for the naval force. These are Tekfurdagh (Rodosto); Gallipoli; the seven provinces of the islands in the Archipelago, exclusive of Candia; Sinope; Battum, or Ghunié; Trebisond, Djanik; Ordu, on the Black Sea; and Erdek and Bigha, on the Sea of Marmora: 34,000 men are levied in these localities, and they are divided amongst six regiments, under the orders of a lieutenant-general commanding, an admiral (*Capudana*), a vice-admiral of the port (*Liman reïs*), a vice-admiral of the fleet (*Patrona*), a vice-admiral director of the arsenal, and three rear-admirals (*Riala*) in command of the three stations—the Danube and Black Sea, the Archipelago, and the Persian Gulf.

The names of Ahmed Pasha, Mustapha Pasha, Mahmoud Pasha, Osman Pasha, Hassan, and Mohammed Bey, are sufficiently known in the East to convince the inquirer how efficiently these important posts are now occupied; and one of our own distinguished naval officers, Captain Slade, has lately been added to the general staff of the fleet, with the rank of *Liva*.

Independently of the *matériel* of the Turkish navy, which does not form a part of the subject now more immediately under consideration, the disposable force of disciplined marines, sailors, and workmen, above specified, will add greatly to the defensive resources of the country, in the event of its being called on to make a trial of physical strength with a hostile power, and, besides showing the progress which has hitherto been made in the application of the new recruiting system to the different provinces of the Ottoman Empire, because the levying of that naval force forms an integral part of the system, these 34,000 men will readily be admitted as a resource legitimately to be calculated.

The police force will also afford a further facility, inasmuch as, in its present state of organisation, the regular troops may

be taken away without danger from provinces in which they have been stationed on account of an appearance of disaffection. Although unfit to enter the ranks of the army, they will thus enable the government to make use of the whole military force for the purpose of defence against foreign enemies, while the constabulary will suffice to restrain those at home, if any such there be.

The police department has its agents divided into brigades, each *Eyalet* having one under the command of a superior officer, and Constantinople having three. In each brigade there are as many companies as there are provinces in the respective *Eyalet*, and they are commanded by captains. Each company has a number of sergeants equal to that of the departments in his province, and the sergeants have charge of detachments varying from ten to thirty constables, according to the amount of population. They are mounted, and well armed. Besides these, there are forty horsemen attached to every considerable town, for the general service of the surrounding country; amounting in all to 10,000 men. The regular constabulary is about 20,000 strong; and a body of 30,000 men, organised as a military force, is thus at the command of the government, for the internal security of the country, should the army be concentrated by a war on one point.

CONCLUSION.

THE attempt having now been made to point out the means by which the former greatness of Turkey was achieved, which means have of late years been reproduced; the causes of her subsequent decline, which causes no longer exist; and the measures which have since operated the favourable changes now visible in her political condition; it is left to the decision of those who may feel disposed to form an unprejudiced and

impartial judgment on the subject of Turkey, how far that attempt has been successful. The data are correct, and on those data it is confidently argued, not only that the era of decline has passed into the domain of Ottoman history, and that the present is really a period of political regeneration, but also that, should the Ottoman Empire again be involved in a war, its military resources will be found less inadequate to the exigencies of the circumstances than they have been for the last two centuries; more especially as the power of conquest, possessed by the only state with which there appears to exist the slightest probability of a rupture taking place, is in general as notoriously exaggerated as that of defence on the part of Turkey is commonly undervalued.

THE END.

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